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THE

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

EDITED BY

J. H. OLDHAM

VOLUME THE NINTH

1920

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS
117 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1
HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, TORONTO, MELBOURNE AND BOMBAY
COMMITTEE OF REFERENCE AND COUNSEL
25 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

PRINTED BY
MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED
FOR
THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS
117 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1

LONDON, TORONTO, MELBOURNE AND BOMBAY: HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW YORK CITY: COMMITTEE OF REFERENCE AND COUNSEL
Subscription 10*s.* 6*d.* ($2.50) *per annum, post free*

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

A SURVEY OF THE EFFECT OF THE WAR UPON MISSIONS

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

I

This chapter is a survey of the educational situation during the war period as it affects Christian missions. The facts to be recorded are not entirely or even chiefly the direct result of the war, but they are important as showing the changes in the educational situation which have taken place even in the war period and in spite of the absorption of national energies in the great struggle, and as indicating the tendencies, certain to grow in strength and volume, of which Christian missions must take account in shaping their educational policy.

The Policy of Governments

No understanding of the position and progress of Christian education is possible except in the light of national and governmental policy in education. The position of Christian schools and colleges throughout the mission field is undergoing a fundamental change. In a great part of Asia and nearly the whole of Africa they have been pioneers in education, in some fields providing the whole of it, in others a substantial share, and helping in important ways to shape its development. But almost everywhere we see the State with resources vastly superior to those of voluntary effort assuming fresh responsibilities in the educational sphere and laying down the lines of a national system to which privately managed institutions must adjust themselves. In view of this fundamental change Christian missions have to discover and claim their just place in the developing national system and to consider afresh how in the new conditions they can make their most effective contribution to the welfare of the peoples whom they seek to serve.

Japan—
Expansion of
Education

In Japan during the war schools of all grades have been overcrowded. Eagerness for higher education has become keener than ever. To meet the growing demand the Government has launched a great scheme of expansion. In December 1918 it announced its intention of establishing thirty-three new higher schools (Koto Gakko) and higher special schools (Semmon Gakko) and six one-department universities, and to add one college to each of four imperial universities. Yen 44,000,000 will be appropriated for this purpose during the next six years and this sum will be augmented by contributions from the provincial and municipal authorities where the new schools are to be located. The emperor has given Yen 10,000,000 for the scheme, and wealthy men are also subscribing money for private schools not in the government programme. As a means of providing competent teachers for the proposed expansion the Government is establishing about 400 scholarships in the imperial universities for students who expect to become teachers, and a similar number of students are to be sent abroad for advanced work.

The proposals for the extension of educational facilities are associated with important reforms. An Educational

Investigation Commission was appointed in 1915 to study the problems of higher education and to bring in recommendations for making the system more practical in its results. After two years it was dissolved and a new commission appointed responsible directly to the premier. As a result two new ordinances of great importance were promulgated in December 1918. Under the first, dealing with universities, private institutions reaching the necessary standard are recognized as real universities with power to confer doctorate degrees. The ordinance also provides for universities with a single department, so that private institutions with only one department may be recognized as a university. The second ordinance dealing with higher schools (Koto Gakko) also opens the door for private enterprise. Such schools may now be established by the central government, by local governments or by private corporations instead of by the central government alone as formerly. The central government, however, is establishing sixteen new Koto Gakko, so there will probably be little scope left for local governments or private enterprise until more universities are opened, since the graduates from the government Koto Gakko will more than fill the existing universities; private enterprise is therefore practically restricted to the opening of preparatory departments for private universities. The cost of establishing a Koto Gakko is also serious. Apart from plant a school must have an endowment of at least Yen 500,000. As regards both universities and higher schools under the new ordinances no restrictions are placed on religious instruction.

New Ordinances and Private Effort

A further illustration of the removal of restrictions which have hitherto limited the work of Christian institutions is the permission given in 1915 to Christian middle schools to adopt the name Chugakubu (Middle School Department) and so to have a recognized place in the national system of education without being deprived of the right to give religious instruction.

Education of Women

The chief opportunity for Christian missions at the present time in Japan is in the sphere of women's education. There are no government colleges or universities for women, though a beginning is being made in the admission of women to existing universities. There is no indication that any part of the large sums provided for expansion will be spent on women's education, nor is very much expected in the near future from private enterprise other than Christian.

New Regulations in Korea

While in Japan itself, where a national system of education is securely established, the tendency is to allow greater freedom to private effort, in Korea new drastic regulations were promulgated in 1915 requiring that all private schools should follow exactly the government curriculum and prohibiting all religious teaching and religious ceremonies in schools. Religious teaching may not be given in school buildings even outside school hours, though temporary exceptions are permitted until necessary arrangements can be made. The Japanese authorities disclaim any wish to interfere with religious freedom or to restrict religious propaganda, but it is held that education is an affair of the State and must be absolutely controlled by the State in order to educate the people for its own ends. In existing conditions in Korea the authorities are not prepared, as in Japan itself, to leave a place for private schools giving their own special type of education. All schools must be secularized and conform exactly to the government model or be closed. A further difficulty for mission schools is the requirement that the Japanese language must be taught and that all teachers must know Japanese. Schools established in 1915 are given ten years to conform to the new regulations. Many of the mission schools have availed themselves of this permission, while others have applied for permits under the new system. The bearing of the new regulations and the policy of Christian missions in relation to them were fully discussed in an article by

Dr Arthur J. Brown in this Review in January 1917 (pp. 74–98).

China

The internal dissensions in China with the resulting disorder and lack of settled government have prevented the development of a definite and established government educational policy. But in spite of the unsettled conditions educational interests have not been wholly forgotten. A number of conferences have been held under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. Commissions and individual students have been sent to study education in other countries. Special interest has been manifested in the subject of vocational education. Educational progress has been made in different parts of the country as the result of local enthusiasm and individual initiative. The statistics issued by the Ministry of Education show that in 1915–6, the last year for which figures are available, the number of pupils under instruction was five per cent more than in 1914–5, and nearly 70 per cent more than in 1912–3.

India—Calcutta University Commission

The most important event in the history of Indian education since the commission of 1882–3 is the Calcutta University Commission, whose Report in thirteen volumes was published last year. Though the scope of the Commission's investigations was limited to Bengal, evidence was received from other parts of India and the Report sheds a flood of new light on the problems of Indian education. The recommendations of the Commission are dealt with in a separate article (pp. 49–59), and it is sufficient to note here that so far as Bengal is concerned the Commission affirms in the strongest terms the urgent need for thoroughgoing reform and reconstruction. Without this further satisfactory progress is impossible. In the attempt to lay anew the foundation of a co-ordinated and genuinely national system of education on the lines proposed by the Commission many questions will arise affecting the position and work of Christian institutions and their relation to such a system.

A question of far-reaching importance has been raised by the proposal that a conscience clause should be introduced into the Indian Education Code. The policy laid down in the Education Despatch of 1854 and adhered to up to the present is that of affording grants-in-aid to all schools imparting a satisfactory secular education and of abstaining entirely from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted. The demand is now being made that this policy should be abandoned and that in all institutions supported by public funds parents should be given the right to withdraw their children from religious instruction of which they do not approve. The issues thus raised are dealt with in a separate paper by the Bishop of Bombay (pp. 37–48). Their importance for the future of missionary education in India is obvious. They have received careful attention from the National Missionary Council in India, which at its meeting in 1917 passed a series of resolutions on the subject, and also from the home boards.

Proposal for a Conscience Clause

A notable event during the quinquennium was the opening in 1916 of the Hindu University at Benares, with the aid of large private subscriptions and some government assistance. Its significance lies in the fact that it provides an opportunity for developing an educational ideal inspired by Hindu culture, and that it recognizes the existence of a desire for education with a definitely religious basis.

Hindu University

The position and opportunity of Christian education in India will be fundamentally affected by the constitutional reforms embodied in the Bill at present before the British Parliament. The exact provisions of the Bill are not settled at the time of writing, but its purpose of transferring a substantial part of the functions of Government to popular control creates an entirely new political situation which will react on Christian institutions in many ways and call for many readjustments.

Constitutional Reforms

The Near East

In Turkey the abolition in 1914 of the Capitulations, under the protection of which the widely extended missionary institutions carried on their work, was followed by the promulgation of a new education law prohibiting the giving of religious instruction except to pupils professing the religion taught, making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory, and imposing all kinds of restrictions on the opening and conduct of schools generally and in particular by foreigners. One of the most striking developments during the war in the Turkish Empire has been a remarkable impulse given to the education of women, new high schools and normal schools for girls being started in different parts of the country. It is too early to speak definitely about the future of education in what was formerly the Turkish Empire, but in the territories in the occupation of the western Powers a beginning has been made in the introduction of education in accordance with European standards.

Nigeria

As in Asia so in Africa, where up to the present the education of the people has been almost entirely the work of Christian missions, we find governments beginning to assume increased responsibility in the educational sphere. In Nigeria an important new ordinance was enacted in 1916. The Government recognize the need of a great expansion of education to meet the needs of the colony. The ordinance follows the Indian policy of assisting privately managed institutions which conform to the regulations by grants from the public revenue. A notable feature of the new policy is the emphasis laid on the training of character, and in the regulations under the ordinance not only moral but religious instruction subject to a conscience clause is made compulsory in both government and assisted schools. The religious instruction may be Moslem or Christian. In the Northern Provinces, where the population is predominantly Moslem, the original ordinance provided that no grant should be given to any Christian school not already established at the time of the passing of the ordinance. This clause has, however, been subsequently amended, and under the present regulations no Christian school may be opened in the Northern Provinces without special application to the lieutenant-governor and without compliance with the following conditions: (*a*) before admitting Mohammedan children the manager must satisfy himself that the parents or guardians understand that it is a Christian school, (*b*) the full consent of parents or guardians must be obtained before a pupil is given any religious instruction, and (*c*) where religious instruction is being given no children must be present except those the consent of whose parents or guardians has been obtained.

Uganda

In Uganda a conference on education was called by the acting governor in September 1917. This was the first occasion on which representatives of the government and of the missions have met to consider educational policy. The chief results were the definition of government policy and a proposal to increase the amount of the government grant for education.

Northern Rhodesia

In Northern Rhodesia a Native Schools Proclamation was issued in 1918. The missions were not previously consulted in regard to the terms of the proclamation though the whole of the native education is in their hands. A school is defined as 'a school or class for the teaching or instruction of natives whether held in a building or not,' and strict conditions are laid down in regard to the opening and conduct of any school. Exception has been taken by the missions to various provisions of the ordinance as opposed to the real requirements of native education and as restricting in unnecessary ways the legitimate activities of Christian missions.

In South Africa, where all but three of the native schools are under missionary management, there has been no marked change in government educational policy during the war period. There has been recently a growing demand among the natives, especially in the Transvaal, where the government grants for native education are trifling in amount, that the Government should take over the work of education. It is hoped that this would lead to the extension of native education and the securing of larger resources for it. The most notable event in native education has been the opening in 1916 of the South African Native College providing facilities for the higher education of the native community. The college is situated near Lovedale, though it is not connected with the well-known Lovedale Institution. The governing body of the college includes representatives of the Union Government, the Cape University, the native community and the missionary bodies, the intention being that the latter should provide denominational hostels for their own students.

South Africa

II

The facts we have been considering thus far show a steady and in some instances rapid growth of national systems of education and increasing definiteness or a change of direction in the policies of governments. These changes affect fundamentally the position of Christian schools. There has been in the past in most mission fields an almost unrestricted opportunity for private effort in education. But education is gradually but surely passing into the category of those public services which are supported out of taxation and therefore controlled by the State. Almost everywhere missionary societies are confronted with the urgent necessity of adapting their educational policy and work to the new conditions. A new synthesis has to be found between private effort and state education. Christian institutions must make up their minds what is to be their relation to the national system, what degree of freedom they may justly claim,

The Place of Christian Education

and how with their limited resources they can make the largest and most effective contribution to the moral and spiritual welfare of the peoples they desire to serve. They must have a clearly-defined policy of their own and it must as far as possible be a common policy. We shall review briefly here the attempts which have been made during the war period to deal with these large and pressing problems.

Education Commission to India

The most important of these is perhaps the Education Commission which has been sent to India by the missionary societies of Great Britain and North America to study the problems of village education. The primary reason for sending the Commission was the serious illiteracy of the Indian Christian community resulting from the large accessions to the Christian Church in recent years through the mass movements. But on closer examination it was seen that the problem is not merely or even primarily one of providing increased facilities for education for Christians in the villages but also and fundamentally that of discovering the kind of education which will really meet the needs of village life. It was further realized that the far-reaching political and economic changes which are taking place in India, and the new developments in education, call for a thorough review of the aims and methods of Christian education in the villages. The aim of the Commission is to study in its widest aspects the problem of raising the economic, social, moral and spiritual life of the village community. The Commission, under the chairmanship of the Rev. A. G. Fraser, includes Indian, British and American representatives, and before reaching India made a study of rural education in America, Japan and the Philippines. As important perhaps as any practical results which may issue from the work of the Commission is the fact that it represents a united effort on the part of the missionary societies to review in the most thorough fashion their educational policy in relation to the general educational situation and in the light of the best educational experience at the present day.

China

Progress has been made in the working out of a common policy in Christian education in China through the activities of the China Christian Educational Association, which was reorganized shortly before the war and made provision for effective work by appointing Dr F. D. Gamewell as its secretary. The association was further strengthened in 1918 by the addition of the Rev. H. W. Luce as associate secretary. Among the services rendered by it to Christian education is the quarterly publication of the *Educational Review*. The war period has further been marked by the development of local Christian educational associations working in co-operation with the national body. There are now nine of these. The West China Educational Association, which shortly before the war appointed the Rev. E. W. Wallace as its secretary, has been able under his guidance to make marked progress in co-ordinating Christian education in West China. Strong efforts have been made to secure for China an education commission including eminent educators from the West to study thoroughly the problems of Christian higher education. It was hoped that the commission might have begun its work last year, but this expectation was disappointed. The China Continuation Committee at its last meeting gave its cordial approval to a bold national programme for the training of teachers to be carried out in five years. It is proposed that each of the nine local educational associations should have as full-time workers a (foreign) administrative secretary, a (Chinese) associate secretary and a (foreign) director of teacher training, and that lower-grade normal colleges should be established in connexion with the local educational associations and four or five higher-grade normal colleges under the auspices of the China Christian Educational Association at strategic centres throughout China.

Africa

In Africa as in other mission fields there have been signs that the missions are alive to the necessity of taking counsel together and agreeing upon a common educational policy. The subject of closer co-operation has been under discussion in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. In the Congo field an inter-mission committee was formed in 1918 to co-ordinate the curricula of the different schools, to consider educational policy and to consult with the Government on educational matters. In Northern Rhodesia the missions found it necessary to take common counsel regarding the Native Schools Proclamation to which reference has already been made. Owing to the shortage of staff resulting from the war large progress in co-ordinating the work of missionary education was not to be expected, but it is being recognized that the increasing participation of the colonial governments in the work of education and the growing definiteness of government policies make it necessary for missions to have a clear and united policy of their own if they are to render useful service under the new conditions.

Commonwealth Trust

An event which may have large influence on Christian education in Africa in the future deserves notice here. Among the unhappy consequences of the war has been the exclusion of the Basel Mission and the Basel Trading Company from the Gold Coast and from India. The British Government decided that the original philanthropic character of the latter undertaking should be conserved, and the business has been taken over by a British company known as the Commonwealth Trust, which after paying a restricted dividend of five per cent (tax free) on its capital will hand over the surplus profits to a body of trustees to be administered for the religious, moral, social and economic benefit of the peoples of the country in which the profits have been earned. The company has no connexion with missionary effort. It is a public company for trading purposes, but it has accepted the principle that after payment of a reasonable return on its capital profits should be devoted to the good of the community where they are earned, and for the purpose of giving effect to this principle there has been created an educational trust. Half the trustees are nominated by the company and the other half by the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. In view of the constitution of the Board of Trustees it may be expected that a considerable proportion of the funds will be available for Christian education if the missions are prepared to undertake work of a sufficiently high standard.

III

Losses during the War

The serious interruption of Christian educational work through the war in certain parts of the mission field has been shown in preceding chapters of the present survey. The American colleges in the interior of Asia Minor and British and American institutions in Syria and Palestine were for the most part closed, though the colleges at such ports as Constantinople, Beyrout and Smyrna were able to continue their work under considerable strain. A large number of schools conducted by German missions, particularly in Africa, were broken up, and others have had to be carried on by the Government. British and to a lesser extent American institutions have suffered from shortage of staff. It is unnecessary here to repeat the details which were given in previous chapters.

Progress in Women's Education

Over against these losses and interruptions it is encouraging to be able to record definite progress in certain directions during the war period. The most notable advance has been in women's education. Four new union women's colleges have been established within the last five years. The Women's Christian College in Madras, maintained jointly by twelve different missionary societies—six British, five American and one Canadian—was opened in 1915, with a strong staff of seven British and American professors. It has now seventy-six students. In the same year the Ginling College, in which five American Women's Boards are co-operating, was opened at Nanking and has now an enrolment of over fifty students. In 1918 the Women's Christian College in Tokyo, in which six American boards are co-operating, was opened. It began its second year with over a hundred and fifty students in residence. It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the importance of this development in view of the present state of education in Japan described in the earlier part of this chapter. The year 1918 also witnessed the starting of a medical school for women at Vellore, in South India, supported by several American mission boards. These events mark an altogether new advance in the Christian higher education of women.

Higher Education in China

In China the past five years have witnessed important advances in higher education. The Peking University has been reconstituted by a union between the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, the American Presbyterian Mission and the London Missionary Society. In 1915 steps were taken in New York to obtain a charter for the university incorporating a new board of trustees representing the three American societies above mentioned, and in 1916 the London Missionary Society joined the union and elected trustees. The financial basis of union is a minimum contribution from each co-operating society of 50,000 gold dollars as a capital investment, either in land, buildings or endowment, the provision of at least two professors, with houses for them, and an annual contribution of at least one thousand gold dollars towards current expenses. These contributions have been made by the four participating societies, each of which is entitled to appoint four trustees, who hold their meetings in New York. On the field the administration of the affairs of the university is vested in a board of managers and a university council, on which the four societies are represented. The first department to start work was the College of Theology, which was constituted in 1916. The Preparatory Department and the College of Arts and Science commenced in 1917.

In 1917 the work of the Shantung Christian University, maintained by the American Presbyterian and English Baptist missions, was concentrated at Tsinanfu, and substantial help for the medical school was received from the China Medical Board. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the London Missionary Society, the English Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, the American Presbyterian South and the Lutheran United Mission have co-operated in one or more of the departments of the university. In 1917 joint boards representing the various missionary societies participating were formed in London and New York. The administration on the field is vested in a board of managers and a university council in China.

In Fukien the Arts Department of a union Christian University was opened in 1916 and a charter was obtained in 1918. Three American and one British society are co-operating in the university and a site has been secured. The China Medical Board has given assistance in the science work of the university.

Korea

In April 1917 the Chosen Christian College, or the En Ki Semmon Gakko as it is known officially, was given a charter by the Governor-General of Chosen, under the new form of permit. The college has six departments and is situated on a large piece of land near Seoul. Classes were opened in temporary buildings in April 1918 with ninety-four students, but the disturbed state of the country prevented their graduation in March 1919. Four mission boards are co-operating. An important feature of the scheme of this college is a model village for the wives and families of married students. In this it is proposed to have a church, a school for the wives, primary school for the children, playground and other accessories of a modern town. Town-planning, sanitation, adaptation of Korean architecture, road construction and a municipal market are features of the design. Thus in addition to his studies the student will have a practical grounding in the affairs of Korean life.

Summary

The facts recorded in this section show a remarkable progress of Christian education in certain directions during the war. At the advent of peace the missionary societies are confronted in the sphere of education with serious losses to be made good, with large new opportunities, with much to encourage them and inspire them with hope, and above all with the urgent necessity of thinking out clearly the special functions and contribution of Christian education in relation to the developing national systems, and of formulating a well-considered and, as far as possible, common policy for Christian effort throughout the world.

J. H. O.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH IN THE MISSION FIELD

I

The Dominant Factor

THE earlier chapters of this Survey have shown missionary reinforcements cut off at their source and the churches of the West crippled by the war. The withdrawal of German missionaries from their sphere of labour further lessened the forces at work. In lands which lay in the path of the war temporary paralysis and in some cases widespread dislocation of long-established work have been experienced. It is natural, therefore, that as men's eyes look forward, the Church in the mission field should be regarded as the dominant factor in future reconstruction. As the clouds of war lift slowly from the horizon, this Church is hailed as the centre of hope in the missionary situation of to-day. It becomes, therefore, of primary importance for the purposes of this Survey to attempt to estimate in what ways the Church in the mission field has reacted to the direct impact of the war, to what extent normal growth and development have persisted during the last five years, and to note, with a view to their influence upon the future, some movements which have assumed larger proportions and a new significance.

Direct Effect of the War

The effect of the outbreak of war between Christian nations upon the moral sense of the Church in the mission field was feared as an evil greater than any material loss. A careful examination of such evidence as is available in America and Great Britain seems, however, to indicate that the hurtful moral influence has been comparatively small. Such challenge as has been reported arose for the most part outside the Christian Church. There is, on the other hand, abundant testimony to show that in the mission field, as at the home base, a spirit of sacrifice and of service was born in the evil hour. At the outset, when monetary supplies were cut off, evangelists, notably in Madagascar and other parts of Africa, voluntarily surrendered a large portion of their salary or offered to work unpaid. Later on, members of the Christian churches gave freely for the relief of the wounded or for the support of war orphans. Christians were foremost in personal work in carrier or labour corps or in service in the ranks where this was required. Owing to the withdrawal of missionaries for some form of war work in their various countries, responsible posts devolved on Christians in the mission field, especially in China, and these were efficiently filled. It has never been sufficiently recognized that members of the mission field churches suffered as acutely from dislocation of trade, lack of supplies and high prices as church members in Europe did. On many Christian homes in Africa, India, China and the islands of the Southern Seas has fallen the shadow of common bereavement, for fathers, sons and brothers sent forth to share in the white man's welfare lie in distant graves.

II

Accessions to the Church—Africa

The Church in the mission field has passed undiminished through the fiery test of the war. Year by year, sometimes in the presence of actual warfare, a steady numerical increase has gone on. Material for a complete statement is not available, but a few outstanding instances may be given. Previous surveys have recorded the in-gathering of converts in American and British missions in Africa, on the Gold Coast, in Cameroon, Nigeria, Congo, Uganda and various parts of South Africa, and by the Paris Mission in Basutoland and the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland. In Congo eighteen new stations have been opened since the war began, and the membership of the churches has doubled.

—China

For China, complete figures are provided for the four years 1914 to 1917 in a statistical table in the *China Mission Year Book* for 1918. The number of pastors rose in those years of war from 660 to 864; of employed church workers from 18,194 to 23,345; of communicant members from 253,210 to 312,970; of Sunday school scholars from 133,674 to 210,397; of the total Christian constituency from 460,469 to 654,658.

—India

In India the widespread movement of the outcastes towards the Christian Church has continued unabated. In mass movement areas in North and South India the number of baptisms is still only limited by the possibility of instructing the thousands of inquirers who desire to join the Church. In one year, as we noted at the time, an American mission reported 150,000 inquirers and nearly 30,000 baptisms. Baptism was refused to 40,000 persons for whose instruction no provision could be made. The areas of the movement have extended. In Haidarabad in the Nizam's Dominions—to take one instance out of many—a British mission reports that a movement which began in 1915 has spread 'like an infection from village to village'; over 3000 adults and an equal number of children were baptized in 1918, and over 4000 more are under instruction for baptism. While the spectacle of depressed peoples thus seeking and finding social salvation is a Christian apologetic of no mean value, the Indian Church is faced with serious problems as the result of these large accessions to its ranks.

Christian Illiteracy

Foremost among these is the problem of illiteracy, the poignancy of which is increased by the approaching constitutional reforms and the new responsibilities about to be committed to Indian citizens. The Census of 1911 showed that 85 per cent of the Indian Christian community were unable to read, and the proportion of illiteracy in mass movement areas is higher still. Existing agencies are wholly unable to overtake the work. Special committees appointed by the National Missionary Council and the various missions are at work upon the problem. The situation is deeply exercising the educated members of the Indian Christian community. In China, where the Church has a membership of 188,000 illiterates to 125,000 literates, the matter is also receiving attention. By the use of a phonetic script introduced and advocated by the Chinese Government and actively furthered by the missions it is hoped that within two years the situation can be greatly improved. Christian literature in the script is being prepared and issued. The China Continuation Committee have appointed a Committee for the Promotion of Phonetic Script with a full-time secretary.

Self-support

Notwithstanding pressure caused by high prices and other financial effects of the war, a steady advance towards self-support is an encouraging feature in the life of the Church. In Formosa the Christians in one mission have doubled their contributions during the years of war. In Korea the churches have given more *per capita* than ever before. In one station the helpers supported in 1918 by the Korean Church rose from twelve to twenty, even though their salaries had to be augmented by fifty per cent. One result of the increased cost of living is that the Christians, who are the progressives of the country, have been compelled to lessen the voluntary labour given to the Church in order to get time to earn enough to support their families.

—China

In China the contributions of the churches rose from $383,114 in 1914 to $546,787 in 1917. There has also been a noteworthy increase in the total amount raised from all sources in China for Christian work. One British mission reports a total of £24,680 in 1918 as against £8040 four years before. The fees and local contributions to the medical mission work of the same society were £4544 for the year 1914 and £18,256 for the year ending March 31, 1918. Self-support is being steadily fostered both by Chinese and foreign leaders.

One mission reports that in 1914, 1076 native helpers were supported by their fellow-Christians and that by 1917 the number had risen to 1638. During the same period the contribution of the Chinese churches in the mission rose from £2710 to £3475. An inquiry instituted in 1915 by the China Continuation Committee, and still continued, has enlarged knowledge of methods in use and proved that economic conditions do not govern the development of self-support.

—India

A similar inquiry was instituted by the National Missionary Council in India in the following year, through its committee on the Indian Church. This committee is further investigating the financial relationships between missionary societies and church organizations. The question is being raised, especially in India though not there alone, as to where the prevalent assumption that self-support must precede self-government is necessarily and under all circumstances sound.

—Africa and Elsewhere

In Africa the number of churches which have become wholly or largely self-supporting has increased. Definite advance in self-support during the period of the war has been reported from Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (see, in particular, page 92), Nigeria, Cameroon, Natal, Zululand, Northern Rhodesia and Madagascar. From islands in the South Pacific similar news has come.

Missionary Work of the Church

There is encouraging evidence that the desire to extend work into the regions beyond is growing. The decision of the Uganda Church to send five out of seven ordinands in 1916 outside its own borders, reserving only two for home work, was noted in a former survey; also that the Korean churches started work among immigrants in Vladivostock, Manchuria and Shanghai, and among Chinese in the Shantung province; that Japanese women agreed to send a woman missionary to Formosa and to support her, and that a Japanese pastor was sent to work among Chinese in Moukden. In India the Telugu Missionary Association has taken up a virgin field of work in a district in the Dornakal diocese and has selected four men as the first missionaries. In China the Board of Missions of the Anglican Church began a mission to Shensi province in 1915, and in 1918 a group of leading Chinese Christians, under the chairmanship of Dr C. Y. Cheng, formed the Chinese Home Missionary Society, which has sent a commission of seven persons—three ordained Chinese, three Chinese women and one woman missionary—into Yunnan province to survey the field with a view to forming a permanent organization. The project has fired the imagination of the Chinese Christian community and is also receiving cordial support from the missions.

The Church and Public Questions—Japan

The extent to which the corporate voice of the Christian community has been heard during the last five years in connexion with public questions, both social and political, is a striking illustration of the growth of the Church in self-consciousness and in influence. In Japan the Christians led in 1916 in the nation-wide agitation which arrested the fulfilment of the government order for the opening of a new quarter for licensed vice at Tobita on the outskirts of Osaka. As a further example of Christian leadership may be noted the declaration issued by the Federation of Japanese Churches in 1919 on the thirtieth anniversary of the granting of the national constitution. In this document the responsibility of Christians for the spiritual reclamation of the nation and for the establishment of a true democracy is urged.

—China

In China, more perhaps than in any other land in Asia, the Christian Church has a growing place in public affairs. The outstanding illustration of this is the work of the Religious Liberty Society, a movement initiated in Peking in 1910 by a group of Christians with a view to securing the insertion of a clause safeguarding religious liberty in the constitution. During the war the group developed into a powerful organization with two hundred centres. Moslems, Buddhists, Taoists and other non-Christians joined, working in a separate department in close touch with the Christian leaders.

Three several times the insertion of the desired clause was secured, but owing to changes of government the draft constitution has not yet become law. The Religious Liberty Society remains ready for any further action which may be necessary. The China Continuation Committee has also appointed a special committee, with a membership of five Chinese Christians and two missionaries, to act for the Chinese churches as they may desire, to make united representations on behalf of religious liberty to the Chinese Government and, if desirable, to the Council of the League of Nations.

--India

In India the growing consciousness of the Christian community has been manifest in many directions during the war. Christians took a vigorous part in agitations against the system of indentured labour. The All-India Conference of Indian Christians, formed in 1914, has strengthened its position and has associations in eight provinces. The National Missionary Council of India has a strong committee on public questions with an Indian convener. This committee is co-operating with members of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians in regard to the reform of the existing law of marriage and divorce for converts and other Christians. Indian Christians are urging their claim, in connexion with the constitutional reforms, for political recognition as a community.

Lay Leadership in the Church

The larger place taken by Christian laymen, Japanese, Chinese and Indian, in the life and work of the Church during recent years gives a new sense of hope for the future. Some of these men are in good standing in military, professional or commercial life. In particular the initiative and administrative ability shown by Indian secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. has won universal recognition.

Although there have been some notable exceptions, the abler young men in the Christian community still hesitate to consecrate their lives, in anything like adequate numbers, to the ministry of the Church. Some of the reasons for this are noted in a subsequent section of this chapter (pages 29–32). In China the situation is rendered more acute by the fact that many of the present pastors, however faithful and earnest, are not intellectually equipped to make their ministry acceptable to the large numbers of educated men who desire to join the Church. The special committee on theological training appointed by the China Continuation Committee was able to report in April 1919 that theological education has recently made a marked advance. There are now in China six institutions giving theological instruction to students who have completed a college course and ten for graduates of middle schools. In these sixteen institutions there are nearly 300 students; the number of these who are of college grade is still comparatively small. The progress made by the Student Volunteer Union in China, which is doing effective work in many universities and colleges, and which seeks to enlist men for the ministry, gives hope of a marked reinforcement in coming years in the Chinese leadership of the Christian churches. In India the three theological colleges of highest grade—Serampore College, Bishops' College, Calcutta, and the United Theological College at Bangalore—have greatly strengthened their work during the war. Special efforts are being made to give students from Christian homes out of touch with non-Christian India a sympathetic knowledge of Indian literature, thought and aspiration.

The Christian Ministry

The foregoing paragraphs may be found to offer enough material for an answer to the question as to how far the normal development of the Church in the mission field has been maintained during the years of war. It would not be untrue to make a wider application of the words written in June 1919 by Bishop Roots of Hankow in reference to the Chinese Church:

Summary

> Where the German missionaries had to leave, the Chinese have shown much resourcefulness in taking on the burdens themselves and still carrying

on their church life. Throughout China there is a growing strength within the Church, shown both by individual pastors and by the solid corporate action of congregations. The Church has, it seems to me, grown much more during the past four years than in any four years of its history; grown in strength as well as in numbers, in moral and spiritual strength as well as in financial strength and administrative power.

III

Three Significant Movements

In addition to the normal growth of the Church in the mission field, and side by side with it, there have arisen movements not in themselves new but distinguished by a particular force and pervasiveness. Three of these movements must have separate treatment in this Survey: the wave of evangelism, which has spread over great part of Asia; the reaction of the Church, especially in India, to the nationalist spirit; and steps towards church union in China, India and Africa.

1. EVANGELISTIC MOVEMENTS

The Spirit of Evangelism

The widespread awakening of a spirit of evangelism in the churches in Asia has been marked during the period of the war. When allowance is made for weaknesses in the presentation of the message and for the partial apprehension of the meaning of Christian service which many of the leaders, both native and foreign, report, the fact remains that the life of the churches has been quickened and their membership substantially increased, and that there has been a release of zeal and devotion which is rich in promise for the future.

—Japan

Former surveys have reported the National Evangelistic Campaign which was undertaken early in 1914 by the Japanese churches on the initiation of the Japan Continuation Committee. In it Japanese and foreigners worked side by side in raising funds and in organizing and conducting meetings, first in rural districts, then in large centres of population. Before the campaign closed in July 1917 nearly 800,000 persons had attended the meetings and 27,000 had expressed their decision to follow Christ. A great evangelistic campaign was also held in Seoul (Korea) in 1915. Several Japanese evangelists have during the last five years seen large results from their work.

—China

In China a series of evangelistic meetings, held by Mr Sherwood Eddy and others shortly after the outbreak of the war, reached numbers of the commercial and student class. Nearly 8000 men subsequently enrolled themselves for regular Bible study. Since then evangelistic campaigns have been organized in provinces and large cities under the direction of Chinese and foreigners. Evangelistic effort has become a permanent feature in Chinese church life. For three successive years (1917-9) a week of evangelism has been arranged at the time of the Chinese New Year. As many as 1200 congregations have taken part in one week, and in some cases seventy-five to eighty per cent of the church members have given individual service or personal testimony.

—India

India was stimulated to organize evangelistic work by the example of Japan and China—an illustration of the growing interaction of Asiatic lands. In previous surveys some account has been given of the week of simultaneous evangelism with which the South India United Church began a well-organized evangelistic campaign in the autumn of 1914. About one-fourth of the communicant membership of the church were enrolled as workers. This ‘ week ’ is being continued annually as part of the normal service of the church. The evangelistic movement has spread to other churches and to many parts of India. As a result, Indian leadership has developed, and there has been increased emphasis on Indian methods, such as musical evangelism.

Great importance has been attached to the preparation of workers by prayer, by Bible study and by training in the principles of personal work ; valuable handbooks have been produced for this purpose. Suitable literature has been prepared and circulated. Attention has been paid to following up work done and an effort made to link those brought under influence to the local churches. In China special attention is being directed to the evangelization of the whole of a family. The China Continuation Committee has a strong committee engaged in furthering evangelistic work and has secured the services of two full-time secretaries. The Madras Representative Council of the National Missionary Council of India has a similar committee to which a full-time secretary is attached.

Features of these Movements

2. THE REACTION OF THE CHURCH TO THE NATIONALIST SPIRIT

'The war has undoubtedly largely developed the spirit of nationality.' These words from a letter written by the Bishop of Madras in April 1919 are re-echoed in the views expressed by correspondents in many parts of Asia and of Africa. This is not the place to discuss the national and international movements, which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter of the Survey. It is our purpose only to consider in what ways the share of the Christian Church in the general awakening of national consciousness and aspiration has affected the missionary situation. This awakening has been manifest, apart from the political sphere, in the eager turning of men towards the institutions of their own country—its language, literature, art, dress and even its proper names. With this has come a recoil from methods of work or habits of thought which have come from other lands, and a sensitive shrinking from any alien authority, however welcomed in the past, however benevolent and just. This current of feeling has deeply moved the educated sections of the Church in the mission field, particularly in India, where the situation is complicated by the rule of a foreign Power. It was dealt with in articles by Mr K. T. Paul and Mr Paton in the October issue of the Review.

The War, Nationality and the Church

The Relation of Church and Mission

For years it has been recognized that the Christian communities in the mission field, closely intertwined with the missions by which they were founded, had reached a stage of development at which responsibility for the shaping of the church life of their country must be transferred to them. This gradual devolution of authority from the mission to the Church which was in motion for years has accelerated during the period of the war. In 1917, however, the late Sir Andrew Fraser in an article in this Review expressed his opinion that larger responsibility was given by the Government of India to educated Indians than was being accorded to them in the sphere of missionary work. His argument has been reinforced by the fuller place given to Indians in the councils of the British Empire and by the proposals put forward in the Report on Constitutional Reforms in India. The situation which has now arisen is dealt with in an article on ‘ Church and Mission ’ in this number of the Review (pages 69–80) and is one of most pressing moment.

An Indian Statement and Proposals

An illustration of the lines on which thought is moving is afforded by an informal conference held at Allahabad in April 1919, the findings of which may be quoted here. The conference though not representative included several well-known missionaries and leading Indian Christians.

1. There is a growing tension in India between the foreign missionary and the Indian Church, and this in spite of the fact that the attitude of the modern missionary towards Indian aspirations is far more sympathetic than was formerly the case.

2. The fact is that no mere improvement in the personal relations between the missionary and the Indian can heal the existing breach, for it is fundamental. A growing sensitiveness to the divergence of national ideals and an increasing reaction against all things of foreign origin is an inevitable outcome of the growth of national consciousness. The resulting situation is more acute in India than elsewhere because the missionary is almost exclusively associated with the dominant and too often dominating race, and shares many of its characteristics.

3. It may be urged that the present state of feeling, however deplorable, must be endured, inasmuch as the Indian Church would collapse were the

direction and control to pass out of the hands of the foreigner. It is our conviction, on the other hand, that in certain parts of India development has reached the stage where there are Indians of ability and devotion who are fully capable of directing the work of the Church. They might not be willing or able to carry it on exactly on its present lines, but that is no reason why its Christian witness should be any less effective than it is at present. These men do not feel that the Church's work as at present organized and controlled gives them scope to render their best service.

4. It will also be said that so long as the supplies for the Church's work in India are drawn almost exclusively from Europe or America, it must be willing to submit to control by these countries. We question the inevitableness of this conclusion. There is a growing agreement among Indians and missionaries that self-government will have to precede self-support, and will indeed stimulate it.

5. If we are to attempt to find some guiding principle for general application we would suggest the following:

As soon as the national consciousness in a Christian Church or community has reached the stage when its natural leaders feel themselves hampered and thwarted in their witness and service by the presence of the foreign missionary and of the system for which he stands, that Church or community has reached the limits of healthy development under the existing conditions.

6. We believe that in some if not many parts of India the Church has reached this stage and that no new or vigorous growth is possible without radical changes in its relation to the foreign missionary societies.

7. We further consider that the home boards should be clearly informed as to the increasing delicacy and urgency of the problems raised by the rising national consciousness in the Indian Church, and should take account of these problems in all plans for the increase of the foreign element in the work of the Church in India. It is not right that young missionaries should be sent out without a clear understanding of the position.

At this point the Indian members of the conference were asked to meet by themselves and to make definite suggestions for carrying into effect the principles enunciated above. At the next session they presented the following statement of what they felt to be necessary. This statement as a whole was approved by the conference though without final discussion of all its implications.

8.—(i) The Church must be given an opportunity to develop itself on its own lines, keeping in contact with the national currents. This can only be accomplished by allowing the Indian Church itself to lay down the policy and be responsible for its actual carrying out, European man-power wherever needed being subordinated to the Indian organization that may be evolved for this purpose.

(ii) The simplest practical step towards this ideal would be for some large mission to hand over its entire staff and funds in such an area as a province to a commission with wholly Indian personnel and having a whole-time chairman and secretary. It would be the function of this commission to bring into being a representative Indian church organization suitable to be the ultimate controlling body. Such a commission, though working for a certain definite mission, and in complete loyalty with its principles, might include members from other denominations.

(iii) Other missionary societies meanwhile might also take a step in the same direction by having a majority of Indian members on their executive bodies in India, the control of the parent committees or home boards being considerably relaxed.

3. MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CHURCH UNION

The Review and Church Union

Questions of ecclesiastical polity, however important in themselves, do not come within the scope of this Review. No statement dealing with the recent life and growth of the Church in the mission field would, however, be complete which omitted a record of the large movements towards church union which have been characteristic of the last five years. The three outstanding movements have been in China, in Africa and in India.

Church Union in China

The twelve churches of Presbyterian order in China, having moved towards union since 1890, held the fifth meeting of their Federal Council at Nanking in April 1918, when the Council resolved itself into a Provisional Assembly. On that occasion a strong deputation of American and British Congregationalists attended as delegates from their churches to express a desire for federation with a view to organic union. A committee consisting of Chinese and foreigners in about equal numbers was appointed to prepare a scheme. Nine months later (Nanking, January 1919) a complete agreement was arrived at by the representatives of the bodies concerned, and a doctrinal basis and plan of union (see Appendix A, pp. 137–40) were drawn up for temporary use.

The home boards are being asked to consider the proposals. If approval is given, a meeting to constitute the General Assembly will be called in 1921. When the union is finally consummated the large number of Christians attached to Presbyterian and Congregational missions will constitute the 'United Church of Christ in China.' Other bodies are considering the possibility of seeking incorporation, and the councils and associations of the united Church are encouraged to form local unions with members of other denominations. The doctrinal basis, whilst acknowledging the Apostles' Creed 'as expressing the fundamental doctrine of our common evangelical faith, which faith has been the heritage and strength of the Christian Church throughout its history,' reserves to the union Church 'the prerogative of formulating its own doctrinal statements.'

A local union has also recently taken place between the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in South Fuhkien. The American Reformed Church Mission and the English Presbyterian Mission working in this field decided some years ago that the Chinese who were won to Christ through their means should be united in one Chinese Presbyterian Church, but there grew up alongside this Presbyterian Church a Congregational Church under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. During recent years these two churches have co-operated in various evangelistic and other enterprises, and at the close of 1918 their respective church courts decided in favour of organic union between the two bodies, the union to take effect at the end of 1919. Thus while there are still the three missions working in South Fuhkien, the Chinese Christians connected with these missions will henceforth be united in one church. This church is self-governing, for while the missions are represented in the church courts, it is only by a very few individuals, the main bulk of the members being Chinese. The church is also in a large measure self-supporting. Its total adult membership is about 8000.

Union between different branches of the same communion has also advanced. The Anglican missions from America, Great Britain and Canada which formed themselves into one united church before the war began and have perfected their organization and appointed a Chinese Assistant Bishop; the Lutherans, representing missions from Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany and America, have also submitted a constitution for a united Lutheran Church in China to their home boards.

No Anglican missions were concerned in the Chinese movement recorded in the preceding paragraph. In British East Africa the situation was much more complex. The acute controversy which arose out of the conference held at Kikuyu in 1912, to which reference has been made in previous surveys, was still running its course at the outbreak of the war. It will be remembered that a scheme for the federation of missionary societies, Anglican, Presbyterian and others, working in British East Africa, was put forward by the conference in 1912; that the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda identified themselves with the proposals which were strongly opposed by the Bishop of Zanzibar; and that the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the matter was referred, took counsel with the Central Consultative Committee of Bishops and in June 1915 issued a closely reasoned statement on the questions raised. A second conference was held at Kikuyu in July 1918, a few months before the Armistice was signed, at which a proposal, on lines which fell within the limits of the Archbishop's pronouncement, for an alliance of missionary societies at work in British East Africa was considered. The constitution then drawn up was adopted by official representatives of the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland Mission, the Africa Inland Mission, the United Methodist Church Mission and the British and Foreign Bible Society. Among the signatories are the Bishops of Mombasa and of Uganda. The Bishop of Zanzibar, whose presence at the conference was greatly welcomed, proposed an alternative scheme

The Kikuyu Alliance

which did not meet with acceptance. The constitution as adopted is printed in Appendix B (pp. 140–5). The signatories recognize that 'in existing conditions . . . intercommunion between episcopal and non-episcopal missions is not yet possible.' Communicant members of the allied missions are welcomed as guests at Holy Communion when the ministrations of their own Church are inaccessible, but the bishops of the two dioceses concerned 'deeply regret that it is impossible in the present circumstances to bid the members of their Church to seek the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained.' At the close of the constitution the signatories affirm their conviction of the need, 'for the sake of our common Lord,' of a united Church in British East Africa, recognize the basis of alliance not as ideal but as the best possible in view of present divisions, and pledge themselves not to rest until they can all share one ministry.

Church Union in South India

Year by year Indian movements towards federation or church union have been noted in the surveys in the Review. The proposals for a union between Presbyterians, Congregationalists and the South India United Church, which have long been under consideration, took shape in April 1919, when a draft basis of union and constitution for a 'United Church of Christ in India' was drawn up by a joint committee. A month later a small conference on church union was held at Tranquebar under the presidency of Bishop Azariah. At the close, twenty-three ministers representing the Anglican Church and the South India United Church issued a statement proposing union between these two bodies in South India and suggesting means by which, in their individual judgment, obstacles in the way of such union might be overcome (Appendix C 1, pp. 145–7). Shortly after, the Malabar Suffragan of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church issued an unofficial statement to the effect that he and other members of that ancient body were prepared to take steps to further union with the Anglican and South India United Churches on the lines of the proposals made at Tranquebar (Appendix C 2, pp. 147–9). In this statement it is pointed out that there is no instance in history in which union has been effected ‘ between the East and the West, between Catholic and Protestant, between Episcopal and non-Episcopal bodies.’ Opinion, both of Indian Christian leaders and of foreign missionaries, is divided on the issues raised. The General Assembly of the South India United Church at its meeting at Calicut in September 1919 passed a resolution (Appendix C 3, pp. 149–50) welcoming the proposals, and referring the matter for consideration to the councils of the Church with a view to the preparation of a report for the next General Assembly. The question for consideration is stated in the official minute as follows : ‘ The desirability or otherwise of adopting a constitutional episcopacy (1) in which there shall be bishops elected by and responsible to the General Assembly ; (2) in which there shall be mutual recognition of the absolute equality of the ministry and of the membership of the uniting Churches ; and (3) in which the resultant Church shall be an autonomous and independent entity.’ Conference is also to be held with the other bodies concerned. Before final action can be taken the matter must come, on the Anglican side, before the bishops in India, and the Lambeth Conference which meets in June 1920. The official voice of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church must also be heard.

G. A. G.

(*To be continued*)

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION UNDER A NEUTRAL GOVERNMENT

By The BISHOP OF BOMBAY

THE immediate reference of this paper is to our Indian conditions. Of this fact the justification is easy to state. On the one hand it is with those conditions alone that I can profess to be conversant. On the other hand, the Indian educational problem is of sufficient importance to merit the attention of readers of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS. Those who are interested in other countries can readily draw for themselves instructive inferences from our circumstances and apply them with proper qualifications to their own. In the last resort the great principles of education are everywhere the same, and it is my chief object to state some of those great principles and to urge that educational policy should be framed in accordance with them.

This paper is intended to treat of two principal subjects : (1) The relation between a State which in regard to religion is neutral, and religious educational institutions ; (2) the position and aims of Christian missionaries engaged in educational work in India. As the conscience clause question ought to be settled in reference to these principles, it is given incidental treatment. It cannot be settled by the argument that conscience clauses exist in Europe, and must be still more necessary in India. The only sound way of settling it is to determine what are the right ideals and objects for education in India, and then to ask whether a compulsory conscience clause is consistent with those ideals and objects.

I. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY OF A STATE AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE STATE

In many minds there is a disinclination to enter upon such questions as this on the ground that they are purely academical. Two facts may be adduced to prove that this question is of immediate and practical importance. (1) The despatch of the Secretary of State for India in 1854 provided for the payment of grants-in-aid to religious educational institutions subject to government inspection, but this inspection and all other action of Government towards those religious institutions was to be characterized by entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted. (2) The recent demand for a conscience clause in all aided schools involves logically the denunciation of this principle of entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction. It is clear therefore that the relations of a neutral state to religious educational institutions within it form a subject on which opinions are divided at the present time, and that practical decisions which must soon be taken will involve the adoption, implicit or explicit, of some view or other of those relations. Our next task therefore is to attempt to get clear the leading principles involved.

Education is not the teaching of subjects but the development of personality. For the development of personality religion is of primary importance. Education therefore should, wherever it is possible, be given by religious men and women, and they should be free to give the teaching of religious subjects such a place in the curriculum as they think fit, and to conduct the whole of their educational work in the spirit of persons who are performing a religious task under the guidance of religious convictions.

A State which contains large bodies of persons of very various religious beliefs is bound to be neutral in regard to religion. But the conception of neutrality does not imply either acting against religion or against a particular religion, or acting as if religion were a matter indifferent or unimportant. The neutrality of the State in matters of religion should mean neither more nor less than this, that it acts impartially as between religions and does not favour one more than the other. Thus the neutrality of the State ought to mean not antagonism to religion or to particular religions, nor indifference to religion, but impartiality between religions.

So far as I am aware, Indian opinion is all but unanimous that education is a religious work, should be imparted by religious persons and should have religion as its centre. The only exceptions to such views would be found here and there in men whose minds have been strongly Europeanized. The failure of government education in India to command respect or to attract the hearts of students is due mainly to the fact that it is secular. For my own part I agree entirely with what I believe to be the trend of Indian opinion in this respect, and accordingly I urge—and hope for the support of Indians when I urge—that it is of positive value to the country that educational institutions should exist which have religion for their centre and inspiration.

Again, education is an organic unity. Its aim is the training or development of the whole personality of the pupil. This aim demands the service of the whole personality of the teacher. Even if he tries not to bring his whole personality into his teaching, the attempt will fail to a large extent. He cannot divide what is organically one into artificial separate compartments. He cannot so teach that his spirit or religious faculty does not influence the pupil whether by its healthy balance and subjection to God and to high ideals or by its ill-health and its servitude to passions. The teacher cannot be simply an intellectual man imparting merely so much intellectual knowledge. The ideal teacher does not try to be this. The ideal teacher is a man whose whole personality is good and has the fullest chance of impressing itself on the pupil. Secular education never gives a man this chance except he be a secularist—a creature who to the Indian mind is a monstrosity. Looking towards the pupil I demand (and I believe Indian opinion is with me) that the spiritual faculties of the pupils ought to have their development in education quite as much as the body or the mind. Religious educational institutions alone offer an opportunity of exhibiting that ideal of education which is in itself the best as well as the most congenial to the Indian mind.

If these general principles about education be accepted, how should a neutral government act towards education ? It should encourage religious educational institutions to exist as being the best form of educational institutions.

Such a consideration is not new in the history of Indian education. It finds a place for instance in the Reports of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, Section 526. Its most recent exemplification is the approval by the Government of India of the foundation of the Hindu University at Benares, though it may be seriously doubted whether any institution which is sectarian can be in reality a *university*, a place where the universe of thought and knowledge is available to the student. But, whether that criticism be valid or not, the establishment of the Hindu University with the approval of Government shows that there is no objection on the part of Government, and a strong assent on the part of its founders, to the principle of religious educational institutions.

If, however, a neutral State encourages and sanctions the existence of educational institutions conducted in the name of the different religions held by its citizens, its official attitude towards these institutions must be defined. The State may have advantages to offer both (*a*) to the pupils and (*b*) to the institutions where they are taught.

(*a*) The State in India has certain rewards to bestow on the pupils, i.e., the certificates and degrees gained more or less under state regulation and after state inspection, and carrying privileges and benefits as qualifying either for continuation of studies or for employments, amongst them for posts in the public service.

If the State is at the same time neutral between religions, and willing to encourage the educational institutions of different religions, it must find some means of securing impartially to the pupils of all these institutions, and also of its own secular institutions, the rewards and advantages which it offers or controls. This involves that such rewards and advantages shall be given on the secular subjects only, because, if the religious instruction were taken into account, the government schools and colleges would be at a disadvantage as having no religious instruction, and also if the state inspectors or examiners were called upon to judge the results of the religious instruction, they would in effect be judging between the religions and preferring the results of one to the results of another. This they could not do without being accused of partiality. Both these consequences would be felt, on all hands, to be intolerable.

(*b*) Besides the advantages to the pupils which the State either gives or controls, it may, if it likes, give advantages to the schools and colleges, especially grants-in-aid. These should likewise be given on the ground that the institutions provide efficient secular education to the citizens of the State and only on the ground of the efficiency of that part of the education given. If parents like to send children or young men and women to religious schools and colleges and the State satisfies itself that the secular education which they there receive is up to the standard recognized by it, the State should not refuse to give grants-in-aid, unless it has determined to have a uniform system of secular education and to drive out all religious education.

For these reasons, the lines of the despatch of 1854 would seem to be fully justified. In brief our contention is that, ideally, education should be given by religious men and women, as a religious task, with religion as its avowed centre and inspiration, and that this is best done in religious educational institutions. In a country like India I welcome the foundation and maintenance of such institutions by all the religious bodies. At the same time Government, being neutral, will no doubt have non-religious educational institutions of its own. The neutrality of Government will be expressed by giving all advantages, whether to the pupils or to the educational institutions, solely on the ground of proficiency in the non-religious subjects and by abstaining from interference with religious teaching in any institution.

In reference to these general considerations, the position which the Christian schools and colleges in India occupy is that of examples of a system of education, which, we claim, is good in itself, and worthy of extension in the other religious bodies. The destruction of the Christian schools and colleges would simply remove useful examples of this system, and by this removal the State would be in no wise benefited. On the contrary, the State would be best served if Christian schools and colleges were retained, and similar Hindu and Muhammadan schools and colleges founded and carried on with energy and devotion.

Secular education, according to our view, and, as we believe, according to the instinctive views of Indians, is not an ideal but a *pis aller*. The State confines its attention to secular subjects not because they are more important than other subjects, nor because it considers them so, but because, if it took cognizance of religious subjects in education, it would endanger its religious neutrality.

If it be objected that students gain by free intercourse with others of different creeds and traditions, my answer would be that this is true, but that the proper stage for such intercourse is the university stage. At that stage they are of sufficient maturity to profit by such intercourse, and it should be secured to them by the arrangements of the university. It is on all grounds one of the most urgent reforms in Indian education that the system of universities composed of a number of distant affiliated colleges should by degrees be completely abandoned, and that the older system which gathered all the students of one university into one place should be substituted for it. In this one place should be many colleges, the majority of which should be religious institutions. For many reasons it would be desirable to have a common system of lectures on the secular subjects, and students of all religions should meet in lecture-room and laboratory, as well as on the playing fields and in debating societies and other social, and (I should add, braving the frowns of Government) political, clubs. That is the true way of opening to students, when they are old enough to enter it, the universe of thought, and incidentally of building up the unity of the nation.

II. The Position and Aims of Christian Missionaries Engaged in Educational Work in India

Let me now state briefly what are the objects with which the missionary societies for whom I can speak engage in educational work. This will show what action by the State would really affect us and what would not affect us.

I would premise that I am not speaking for the Roman Catholics. Their educational policy both in India and elsewhere has been (so far as I know) to refuse to teach anything but secular learning in the school or college classes to those, whether Christians or non-Christians, who do not belong to their communion. Apart from providing education for their own people, their objects appear to be to obtain an important place in the education of the country, and to get into touch with individuals whom they may influence when school or college days are over.

The other Christian missions in India (which the Government of India describes as Protestant) almost universally pursue a different object and therefore adopt different methods. They wish to present a completely and avowedly Christian education to any one, whether Christian or non-Christian, who wishes to receive it. They are greatly concerned to teach the Bible, because the Bible is the key to Christian religion and Christian ethics, to Christian history and Christian literature. They are concerned to be openly Christian in their interpretation of life, and to be under no restraint in expressing Christian opinions on all topics which they may be called upon to handle. They are concerned to uphold in their school arrangements and discipline the Christian standards of morality and duty, and to be under no obligation to defer to any other standards. They are concerned to provide for their Christian students suitable opportunities of worship. In regard to the attendance of non-Christian pupils at such worship, my own opinion is that it would be wrong for the school authorities to compel any non-Christian to take part in Christian worship, but that it would be unreasonable to forbid missionaries to allow any non-Christians to be present, who themselves wish to be present, at any service to which non-Christians are, by our customs, admissible.

This description may serve as an outline of what, on the religious side, ‘ Protestants ’ wish to do in their educational institutions.

We have no wish to give Christian education to any one who does not wish to receive it ; and we regard Christian education as a connected whole, and are not willing to offer to students or parents an option to pick and choose among the parts of our curriculum.

The missionary societies at home would be unanimous in saying that they do not send out missionaries to give secular education or to become (virtually) additional members of the Indian Educational Service. If Government wants secular education given, it must give it itself, and pay for it itself. Missionary societies do not exist for that purpose. They exist to present Christian life and Christian religion to India, and to any Indians who wish to come into contact with Christian ideals and practices.

We claim that our schools should be free to give education according to our own ideals, first to Christians, and, second, to any others who care to receive it. We claim that any community within the State does a service to the State by educating its young citizens who belong to that community. As the Christian citizens of India ought to be educated somehow, there is no injustice to any one if state revenues assist Christian schools in educating Christians in secular learning up to the government standards. Further we urge that if non-Christian parents choose to send us their sons and daughters to be educated according to the Christian ideal of education, they are free men in a free country, and the State has no right to make it hard for them to do what they wish. Consequently we should be counted as doing a service to the State by providing secular education up to government standards for the children of those non-Christian parents who apply to us for it ; and there is no injustice to any one if in the calculation of our grants-in-aid such non-Christian pupils in Christian schools are taken into account.

We do not want in our schools and colleges those who wish to avail themselves of a conscience clause. We see no justice whatever in the attempt to force us to take them at the price of the sacrifice of our educational ideals. While this is our view in general, some mission schools have made (and the authorities of others have openly professed their willingness to make) exceptions by individual exemption from the Scripture teaching, where a very small number of pupils in a district strongly desire it, and their number is not great enough to justify the establishment of another school. But though we should make such exceptions, as of grace, in the case of trifling numbers, we are not ready to make numerous exceptions in any school or college. To make numerous exceptions would alter the character of the school or college.

It is sometimes said that missionary societies have a right to urge that they have invested large sums of money, and caused the lives of many men and women to be spent in educational institutions, on the understanding that the policy of the Government of India would continue to be that of the despatch of 1854. I would not urge this myself. Missions are not commercial enterprises. If we give money or life to missions we fully and frankly accept the risk that both may be lost. Nor is it reasonable to ask a government never to change its policy. But it is reasonable to ask that our Government should not change its policy for a worse policy, that is, in this case for a policy worse from the educational point of view.

The demand for a conscience clause is not based (so far as I can ascertain) on any educational grounds whatever. It contains possibilities of greater trouble than at first sight appears. If the children of objecting parents are to be excused from the Scripture lesson, this will not secure them against hearing about Christianity. Christian literature and the history of Christian nations cannot intelligently be explained without explaining facts about Christianity and its doctrines. There are endless openings for criticism of other lessons than the Scripture lessons, if the principle of the conscience clause is admitted. And this difficulty would weigh on the consciences of honourable teachers, even if inspectors made no reference to it. Again, if a conscience clause were introduced an agitation would at once be started to intimidate all Hindu parents into availing themselves of it. As there are many who are not professed Christians but desire their children to have Christian teaching, this will be an infringement of the liberty of the subject. Again, practical teachers greatly object to a right of absenting themselves from any lesson being given to any pupils. It is found to interfere with discipline and to encourage the tendency to criticize the curriculum and to attempt to evade the parts of it which do not seem likely to ‘ pay ’ in examinations.

Having learned the implications and results of a compulsory conscience clause, the reader may justly ask what is behind the demand for it. So far as I have been able to observe or ascertain, the demand from parents is extremely small. On the contrary, there is a large number of Hindu parents who prefer that their children should be taught in Christian schools. The motives of the demand appear to be partly religious and partly political. In regard to the former, there is no doubt a number of Hindus, especially in South India, who are sincerely concerned at the progress of Christianity. They wish to diminish the influence and power of the Christian schools and colleges. But their real remedy is to start and pay for schools and colleges of their own, not to attempt to force missionaries to educate the children of Hindus on lines on which the missionaries do not think it right or worth their while to conduct education. There are, again, some nationalist politicians who think that Christianity is anti-nationalist. But Christianity will not prove to be anti-nationalist unless nationalism takes up the mistaken policy of being anti-Christian. I know many Indian Christians who are strongly nationalist in sympathy, which is both natural and right. Consequently I see no reason why the legal enactment of a compulsory conscience clause should be conceded either to the anxious defenders of Hinduism or to nationalist politicians. Both can find other and better means of avoiding what they fear, and compassing what they desire. I take my stand on the educational value of thoroughgoing unimpeded religious education. And in urging this, I have no wish to urge it for Christians alone, or for Christians more than for Hindus and Muhammadans.

The ‘ Protestant ’ missions claim that their schools and colleges should continue to be recognized as part of the educational system of India in respect of the secular education which they give. As such they believe they should continue to receive grants-in-aid like all other private schools or colleges, and their successful pupils should continue to receive the same advantages as any other pupils whether of private or of government institutions.

Christians can never expect to be immune from opposition or persecution. But in such a country as India, all the citizens have a right to ask for an impartial government and to demand that the policy of the government departments should be impartial as between religions. We have no more right than any one else to claim exemptions or advantages. Our true wisdom is to ask for a uniform and consistent policy, determined by educational considerations alone. If Government should decide to recognize secular education only, it should make that decision explicitly and deliberately. But I cannot believe that Indians will ever demand a homogeneous system of purely secular education. Consequently I believe that we shall see more and not less recognition of religious education. If that is to be the policy of Government, then let all religions be treated alike. If a compulsory conscience clause is to be established, let it be established for all schools and colleges alike on the ground that it is a sound educational measure, and let it be clearly announced that the policy of the despatch of 1854 is abandoned. Whatever system of education is to be followed, I repeat, let it be a consistent system, and let it be adopted on educational grounds. The missionary educational workers believe they are offering to India a type of education which ought to be represented in any civilized country, and they ask to be allowed to do this service to India, to contribute to her many coloured life some specimens of that type of education which has been the root of the best Christian civilization. They ask this on behalf of their own people to whom they must give the fullness of Christianity. They ask it on behalf of the Indians who, though not willing to be baptized, think Christian education more desirable than any other which is offered to them. They ask it, lastly, because example is better than precept, and they believe that Indian education is in need of more, not fewer, masters and teachers who will devote themselves and all their powers to the development of the whole life of their pupils.

EDWIN JAMES BOMBAY

THE REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION, 1917–1919

By GARFIELD WILLIAMS

I

A Report which covers over 2000 pages of printed matter and is followed by eight large volumes of appendices obviously provides a task for the reviewer which cannot be adequately accomplished in one article. It moreover inevitably suggests a preliminary question—Was it necessary for the members of the Commission to report at this inordinate length? The question is a difficult one to answer. If the Report is meant for educationists, the answer is quite obviously in the negative. If the Report is meant for Indian politicians, the answer is probably in the affirmative, for there is nothing that they love more than a really weighty blue book. But we cannot but feel worried lest its bulk should terrify government officials and missionaries to such an extent as to prevent them from attempting to master its contents. If this should happen it would be a calamity, and somehow or other it must be prevented.

These thirteen volumes can still be saved from oblivion if some one will only take the trouble to do it. They are an encyclopædia of Indian education with special reference to Bengal, and in them are all the materials for a classic. Some of the writing is quite extraordinarily good to find in the report of a Commission. There are whole passages, even whole chapters, which simply must be saved from decent burial in government files. It will be a tragedy if they are not. Chapter II of volume I on ‘Preliminary Observations’ is a very good bit of work. Then come about seventy pages of history which is quite unnecessarily detailed. This brings us to Chapter V on 'The Student in Bengal,' which if it had been cut down to half its length would have been a most brilliant piece of psychological analysis—even as it is it should be read by every missionary who is sent to Bengal; but with this warning, that he should not imagine for a single moment that what is said here applies equally to students in other parts of India. Then comes a chapter on the Mussulmans and their educational needs which is almost a book in itself. It is difficult to believe that it could not have been put more satisfactorily into a quarter the space. In it there are whole pages of evidence with all the names complete. This is followed by six pages on the education of backward classes, which in view of the fact that we are about to give democratic institutions to India is one of the most vital of all educational problems. The educational aspirations of the two million Nama Sudras of Bengal has nineteen lines given to it out of some 2000 pages of the main report. Unless the writer of this article is very much mistaken, they will not be content with a corresponding amount of attention on the part of the Calcutta University of the future. The eighth chapter on the high schools as the foundations of the University might be described as 'a chatty chapter.' It is quite good reading if you can only forget that you have nearly 2000 other pages to read, quite apart from the appendix. Then comes Chapter IX on the Calcutta matriculation examination, a subject which is loved by the indigenous press of India. This chapter is a *tour de force*—after four pages of prefatory matter we learn that the evidence is 222 to 20 against the present matriculation (the twenty are black-listed !) and then we get the detailed evidence of quite a large percentage of the 222—most of them Indians too—fifty pages of it. The Indian press is going to find it difficult to reply this time. But really after the 202 majority was divulged was it necessary to do more than summarize the various criticisms ?

And so it goes on—Chapter X, 'The Recognition of Schools by the University,' with page after page of evidence printed in full—Mr Wordsworth wins with a piece of some 700 words. Then the education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians is dealt with, and after that there are two more chapters in the first volume and two whole volumes to follow that before you get to the recommendations. And the worst of it is, it is quite extraordinarily good stuff. There is nothing left out, though it is easy to criticize relative emphasis. It must, however, be terribly difficult to get the emphasis correct where different people are writing different parts of a report, so even that is forgiveable.

What is to be done about it? Here in the first three volumes is embedded the stuff that every Indian missionary or prospective Indian missionary ought to read, let alone government officials. Here are embedded the facts which it is absolutely essential that every man who is interested or who ought to be interested in Indian Constitutional Reform should know. And here the facts are going to remain hopelessly buried unless some one will take the trouble to dig them out and present them in a form that can be easily digested by busy men. The last thing that this article wishes to suggest is that the Report is not valuable. It is of such immense value that something desperate must be done in order to make it readable for the Westerner interested in India. Dare I try to summarize the first 1200 pages in two or three short sentences? *India is going through a period of renaissance. Education is nothing less than a high explosive for growing nationalities. We are in India playing about with this T.N.T. as though its explosive force were that of a penny cracker.*

What then does the Commission recommend? Whatever it is, it recommends it in another 800 pages of printed matter (without the eight volumes of appendices), so it ought to be a fairly big thing. Well, it is a big thing, but it is not an heroic thing, and some of us think that it was heroic measures that were needed. Anybody can, however, talk about heroic measures, but the people who can accomplish them are very rare. None such appear at present on the horizon of Indian public life, so we shall probably be wiser if we content ourselves with something much less.

A very remarkable thing in the Report is the weight that has been attached to the evidence of missionary educationists throughout, and the members of the Commission make no secret of the fact that the reason for this was a very practical one, namely, that they were greatly impressed by the efficiency of missionary education. I doubt if missionary societies have ever had a greater tribute paid to their work than that which is given them by the Calcutta University Commission. It is very pleasing to receive this encouragement, but it is much more important that missionary educationists should be worthy of this same mead of praise a generation hence than that they should now congratulate themselves thereon. This Report proves once and for all that the educational missionary has been as fine an educationist as he has been a missionary. There seems to me—reading between the lines of this Report—a suggestion of a fear on the part of the members of the Commission lest the missionary educationists should go out of business as a result of their findings. We are asked by them to make great changes in our methods. They want us to give a lead in the making of these changes. Just as we did the best we could under the old system, so they want us to give the best that is in us in order to make the new system a success. Can we promise to do this? I think there is no doubt that we can. Some of us may have wished that they had been far more radical in their method of tackling the problem of Calcutta University—that they had done for Calcutta something like Seth Low did for New York at the time of the founding of Columbia University. Some missionaries, on the other hand, would have preferred reforms less drastic than those proposed here. But, recognizing that it must be impossible to satisfy everybody in so huge a measure of reform as that inevitable in the reconstruction of the university system of Bengal, surely the whole body of missionary educationists can guarantee their support to any scheme which attempts to materialize the suggestions made in this Report.

II

Let us attempt to summarize these suggested reforms. In the first place, Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues have unerringly put their finger on the great weak spot of the whole of the educational system of Bengal, namely, secondary education. Strictly speaking, this was not within their terms of reference, and they showed a certain amount of courage in insisting that the University could not be tackled at all without dealing with the secondary school, and then when they published their Report, asserting that their suggestions for the reform of higher secondary education were the pivot of their whole scheme. Higher secondary school education, then, is to be reformed and placed under the administration of a central authority which will exercise supervisory powers over both public and private institutions. This body is to be composed of about half university nominees and half nominees of Government, and is to have a salaried whole-time president who will be appointed by Government. It is obviously meant to be essentially a body of educationists, and its powers—which will be alluded to hereafter—are to be very great.

Now all would have been well had it not been for the intervening fact of the proposed 'Montague Chelmsford Reforms,' for in these reforms education is to be 'a transferred subject.' It will doubtless be controlled by an Indian minister, and the government nominees will be nominees of this Indian minister. The result will therefore inevitably be that this new central authority will be an almost wholly Indian authority. Now it cannot be too strongly emphasized that in itself this is by no means a bad thing. In almost any other department it might indeed have been quite a good thing. But the members of the Calcutta University Commission have given us many hundreds of pages of evidence suggesting how extraordinarily bad Indian-controlled secondary schools are, and frankly, it does not make one feel very hopeful to hear that the new body which is to set the pace of educational advance in Bengal is to be predominantly an Indian body.

This central authority will in the so-called intermediate stage control the status of institutions, the distribution of grants and all the examinations, and will have a large amount of control in respect of the high schools that precede the new intermediate institutions. In particular it will control the high school examination which is to take the place of the old matriculation. But what is to be the distinctive feature of this new 'intermediate education'? In a word, the work that has hitherto been done in the intermediate classes of the University is to be transferred to institutions of a new type which are to be called 'Intermediate Colleges,' but which are really very imperfectly camouflaged schools. These schools are to be scattered all over Bengal and are to do two main things: (1) to prevent the swamping of Calcutta University with students who are not fit for a university career, and (2) to make higher secondary education an educational end in itself.

Now we believe that the members of the Calcutta University Commission have grasped the problem here and have really found a solution. We are strongly of opinion that their intermediate college should also contain the last two classes of the high school as well as the first two classes of the old university system. We do not believe that a two years' course covers a sufficient period of time to produce an institution which is of real educative value from the point of view of character formation. We are glad to see that the members of the Commission have in some measure realized this. They do not see their way to make their intermediate college compulsorily a four years' course, but they do say that in any future regulations that are laid down this should be permitted. And there can be not the slightest doubt that, from a missionary point of view, the four years' intermediate college will be the only one worth running. I cannot imagine any missionary society deliberately spending the lives of its missionaries upon an institution in which the missionaries were only going to come in contact with their students for a period of two years. Of course this difficulty will also be met where a mission high school is allowed to have the two intermediate classes added to it, in which case managers of mission schools will doubtless divide these schools into upper and lower sections, and include within the upper section the top four classes. All missionary educationists will be in agreement with the proposals set forth by the Commission in respect of the inspection of the schools and the new methods of conducting examinations. If the reforms suggested for higher secondary education can all be put into practice, then we really shall be near a solution for our educational problem in Calcutta University.

But there is one thing which must be said by way of criticism at this point: the crux of the reform lies in the fact that the old intermediate classes of the University are now to become *part of the school system.* This is, of course, not the first time that they have been separated off as an educational entity, for Indian educationists know only too well the educational atrocity that we used to call a 'Second Grade College.' If this scheme merely results in a return of the old second grade college, then the last state of Calcutta University will become worse than the first. It is past fathoming why, when they were face to face with this danger of reinstating the old second grade colleges, they insisted on calling their new institution a 'college' rather than the school which it really is. It seems to me at this point there is a great call to missionary societies to save the school from failure. The whole tendency will be for these intermediate institutions to become tenth-rate colleges. Cannot the missionary societies see to it that, so far as they are concerned anyway, their intermediate colleges will be really first-rate higher secondary schools ?

The writer of this article wishes to urge that the missionary societies that have work in Bengal should ask themselves how many of these so-called intermediate colleges they are in a position to commence, and that they should then try and make these mission intermediate colleges models for the rest of Bengal. In order that this may be done trained teachers are essential, and it will be more important than ever that the educational missionaries sent out from home to such institutions shall be as keen educationists as they are missionaries—as one of our best educational missionaries in Northern India once put it—'an educational missionary ought to be a man who is suffering from "didaximania," he must be a man who must either teach or burst.' This is the kind of man we must send out to Bengal if we are going to help in the materializing of the proposals put forward by the Calcutta University Commission.

The actual university reforms proposed are of less importance than the reform of higher secondary education. Dacca is to have a 'unitary' university—Calcutta is to be a brand new thing in universities ; let us hope that it will not be a prototype of other universities because, frankly, it is an organization which is a confession of failure. The members of the Commission practically admit that they are too late to save Calcutta University. Even after the cutting out of its intermediate students it is still so huge and so difficult to manage, and there are so many conflicting interests, that it is apparently impossible to do the big thing and really reorganize it.

The colleges are to remain. That is the first fact that must be noted. Most missionaries will be very glad to hear it, though we have an idea that they will be more glad than they ought to be. It is even worse than this, for the Commission proposes several new colleges in the heart of Calcutta near College Square. It seems to us an extraordinary suggestion, but apparently there was less difficulty in creating new colleges near College Square than in moving the whole University out of its present site.

There is to be a three years' graduate course. There are to be separate honours and pass courses. The whole method of teaching in the University is to be transformed. The lectures are to be greatly decreased in number. There will be university lectures for all and sundry to attend, and for which there will be practically no limit of numbers. There will be college lectures for which there will be a limit of numbers. A great problem, which does not seem to have occurred to the Commission, is that the most learned men are usually the worst possible orators, and one wonders how the Calcutta University professor of the future (let us hope a man of the splendid ability of a Gwatkin or a Jebb) is going to hold the attention of 700 or 1000 Bengali students at his lectures. It will be a new thing to insist that a university professor should also be a master of rhetoric. Yet this is what the Calcutta University professor of the future will have to be.

In the future there will be many kinds of teachers in the University. There will be teachers wholly paid by the University and appointed solely by it. This category will include some of the professors, readers, lecturers and assistants. Then there will be teachers paid partly by the University and partly by the colleges, either appointed under the terms of a joint agreement between the University and the college, or appointed in the first instance by a college as ordinary college teachers and afterwards appointed by the University, by arrangement with the college, to give lectures which would be open to all students in constituent colleges. Such teachers might have the title of professor, reader or lecturer, according to their salary or status. The Commission expect that the great majority of university, as distinct from college, teachers will fall into this category. The third type of teacher is that which consists of those paid wholly by the colleges; a few of these may have the rank and title of university professors and readers provided that they take part both in college and in university lecturing. But the bulk of the teachers in this category would consist of college lecturers and tutors whose instruction was meant for students of the college alone.

Principles are laid down in regard to the method of appointment of university teachers. The space allotted to us is not sufficient to go into this question. There is doubtless a risk that the missionary educationist will not get his fair chance in the reconstructed University, but then, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the Calcutta University Commission have done all that they can reasonably be expected to do to give him his fair chance. A missionary educationist of the future has got to take risks. We must see to it that the missionary societies send out men to their university colleges who are of such outstanding ability that they cannot be prevented from taking a leading part in the future of Indian university life. Much of the good that has been done by Calcutta University in the past has been done by the three great mission colleges—the Scottish Churches, Roman Catholic and Anglican. Will these great missionary bodies try to set the pace in the future as they have in the past, or will they now gradually drop out of Calcutta university life? There is not the slightest doubt but that they are at the parting of the ways; either they must be manned with a staff that is going to carry great weight in the University on account of its pre-eminent scholarship and general excellence, or else they must just drop out of the running and gradually become intermediate colleges in Calcutta. It is useless to expect that as at present staffed any one of these three great mission colleges can exercise an influence in the future at all comparable to that which it has exercised in the past. This is a call to these three great bodies which it is essential they should answer in the very near future or it will be too late.

There are so many other factors in university reform that have been adequately dealt with by the Calcutta University Commission that it seems unfair not to mention them, simply because one so absolutely agrees with the attitude that the Commission has taken to them. Their remarks concerning the education of women will be dealt with elsewhere in the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS. What the Commission has said concerning the many other aspects of education has the general agreement of most educationists in India. There is a very important note appended after page 398 of volume V of the Report which should certainly be read. It is a note by Dr J. W. Gregory and includes some very interesting matter which is not found elsewhere in the body of the Report.

In closing this article we are oppressed with a sense of its absolute futility. To begin with, it cannot possibly influence one single soul to read these huge volumes. Secondly, any kind of review of such a huge Report as this must fail to do it even the barest justice. What is necessary to be done is that some competent person shall reduce this Report to ordinary proportions; it will then be found that it contains most of what it is necessary for a man to know before he goes out as an educationist to India and much of what it is necessary that the modern politician should grasp if he is going to bring about effective Indian Constitutional Reform.

GARFIELD WILLIAMS

A THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE IN INDIA

By G. E. PHILLIPS

THE BACKGROUND. Along with the rest of the world India is becoming new and strange. No one nowadays speaks of an unchanging East. The political future of those three hundred millions of people depends in no small degree upon decisions which will have to be made this year, and the only thing that can with certainty be prophesied is that from this time onward Indian men will control India far more than in the past. Social changes receive much less public notice than political, but are more important, and Indian social life is being affected at its very roots. The institution of caste has lately received shrewd blows. Nationalists of many castes have dined together, and in the influenza epidemic Brahmans have gone to save life in the huts of the lowest. Economically a new India is coming to birth. Labour is less cheap and in the industrial centres is becoming articulate. Indian leaders have a new interest in the study of commercial sciences. European business men have no longer any monopoly of trade on the largest scale. Patriots are concerned to remove the poverty of their country which blocks the way to most of the kinds of progress for which they are working. Everywhere there is the same strong discontent with the existing order of things, the same desire to escape the tyranny of precedent or custom which until recent times has for the most part been unquestioningly accepted. But no longer as at first do the discontented seek their models in Europe or America. On the contrary, the term ‘western’ is becoming almost a term of abuse, with the connotation ‘materialistic and domineering.’

In such a country a Christian Church is growing up, under suspicion from non-Christians as having its origin in ‘ western ’ missions, and in some of its own leaders inclined to look upon that same origin as a stain on its birth. While the great majority of its members are all the time coming from the outcastes, and a dangerously large percentage is still unable to read or write, it nevertheless includes men of education and character, some of whom have borne heavy responsibilities with credit. The Church in India to-day has grown into a new consciousness of itself and of the part which it ought to play in the India of the future. No doubt many Christian people are content to imitate the particular form of European Christianity with which they are most familiar, and carelessly cut themselves off from their countrymen by mere Europeanisms as much as by creed. But their number is steadily decreasing, while every year there are more Indian Christians trying to discover forms of Christian life which shall be Indian through and through. Some of these, through ignorance of the past experience of the Church of Christ in many lands, are inclined to make original and risky experiments which they would not think of making had they seen in history the utter failure of closely similar experimentation in the past.

Such a country, and such a Church, needs above all else men who are near enough to God to hear His voice saying ‘ This is the way, walk ye in it.’ But it is no easy thing to hear the voice of God. And India equally needs men who having heard the voice of God are prepared to serve their fellow-men in the spirit of Jesus Christ, not caring whether or not they are recognized as ‘ leaders.’ There is real danger in continually telling men that they are to be leaders. There is such a thing as following Christ so closely as to become a leader of others without knowing it. But there is also such a thing as a self-conscious and self-confident assumption of leadership, in reliance upon superiority in wisdom or education, from which India as well as all other lands may well ask to be delivered. The highest aim of the theological college in India is to make it possible for men so to know the will of God for their own country and generation, that they may be equipped for the service of men in the spirit of Christ, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

THE MEN TO BE TRAINED. But men who can do the work which is waiting to be done in India must be men of sufficient education to be able to learn from the past and present experience of God's servants and prophets in all lands. Worked out in terms of examination qualifications, that means that they must have read at least as far as the intermediate stage in an Indian university course, otherwise they cannot make good use of English books or English lectures, and books in the vernacular are few and elementary. But a man who has reached the intermediate stage of studying for a university degree has many kinds of pressure upon him, and the number of such men who feel able to begin a course of four years' theological study is small. Many have borrowed money to pay their fees in the arts college, and must soon earn a salary to pay their debts. Of those who are free from such financial obligations, not many are prepared to devote their life to definitely religious service (India is by no means peculiar in this). Even among the truly religious Christian students, in recent years there has been a growing antipathy to what is called among them ' mission service.' Students tell each other that neither the salary nor the status offered to them by the foreign missionary organizations is such as they can accept. All missions are faced with the problem of shortage of qualified Indian workers, especially those with higher education, and all are trying to improve the conditions under which they are asking educated men to carry on their life-work, but a prejudice once created dies hard. Moreover, this prejudice is reinforced by the strong wave of nationalism which has swept throughout India, and which has created enormous difficulties for all organizations, not only missions, which are under foreign control.

This being so, it might be supposed that the student who consecrates his life to religious work should find his natural sphere in the ministry of the Indian Church. He will do so more and more as time goes on, but at present, owing to the poverty of the average Christian, churches cannot afford to pay an educated man what to him is a living wage. Even in the cases where this difficulty is overcome, it has frankly to be admitted that in many cases church committees consist of men who have not been accustomed to committee work, and who consequently either through mismanagement or through excessive use of a little brief authority sometimes make life very uncomfortable for their minister. All these conditions are operating to reduce the number of Indian Christian students likely to enter a theological college. And yet a few men are coming all the time, the merest handful compared to the need, but their coming at all is a matter for great thankfulness. They come from all parts of the country and from every caste. One man may be the son of a village evangelist who receives a salary of less than two pounds a month; another may come from a well-to-do family ; another may have knocked about the country or even done service abroad as a Y.M.C.A. secretary. There is far more variety among them in customs, dress, mother-tongue and general outlook on life than is usually the case in any English theological college. But where there is unity of purpose such variety is a great enrichment of the common life.

What will be said in the rest of this article is based upon experience of the United Theological College, Bangalore, but most of it probably applies to the other colleges of the same grade, of which there are at present only two in India, Serampore College and Bishops' College, Calcutta.

GENERAL PLAN OF STUDIES. The work of the college is designed to give men the same general discipline of mind as is given in colleges in England through philosophical, biblical, dogmatic and historical studies. In a country where Christianity is surrounded by many other religions the history of religion necessarily has more time given to it than is usual in European colleges. Again, while for purposes of study the student must have good English, for the sake of his future work he must have a thorough knowledge of his own vernacular and the literature which it contains. Hence vernacular studies must receive no little attention. Furthermore, no one is likely to be listened to with much respect by non-Christians if he has not read the ancient books of Hinduism in Sanskrit, so that Sanskrit must have its due place in the curriculum. It is in most cases necessary to give a little attention to proficiency in English, so that, without worrying about Hebrew, the unfortunate student whose mother-tongue is one of the vernaculars is burdened with the vagaries of three other languages at the same time, English, Greek and Sanskrit. Almost as much of his time goes to the study of languages as to the study of Christian truth and the curse of Babel shadows his every day. It would be hard to say which suffers more, the student who is trying to grasp and record in his notes a lecture in a language whose finer shades of meaning must be lost on him, or the lecturer who often knows that his best points are being very imperfectly apprehended.

Under these circumstances the old lecture method is very little use. Constant question and answer, illustration on the blackboard and dictation of summary notes are necessary to supplement it. Even with those helps the teacher is often tempted to think of some drastic change, such as teaching only in the vernacular, but that is impossible now. His class of, say, ten men speaks four different vernaculars, so that instead of him four teachers would have to be found competent for the most difficult task of expressing theological truth in the languages of India. And after all, the students would have to do all their reading in English. Had Lord Macaulay's government taken a different course nearly a century ago, there might have been to-day colleges doing advanced work in vernaculars, but then we might have been faced with such a situation as would have made Christian theological colleges an impossibility. We are committed to English by the history of the past, and must make the best of a bad job.

But even with all these drawbacks, the classroom has its great compensations. The study of church history in the mission field brings an illumination of its own. That atmosphere which the careful historian of the West is laboriously trying to recapture is often the very atmosphere which the Indian student has been breathing all his life. He is himself a first, second or third generation Christian. He has always lived where Christianity is the religion of a despised minority, yet is conscious that the future is with it. He has had to meet in his own village the very objections to his religion which the Apologists met in the second and third centuries. Unless the teaching is very poor, he cannot help seeing constant parallels between conditions in India and what he finds in the story of the past, and not infrequently he can find direct guidance from the history for the problems of the present.

Christian doctrine is the same in India as in England, but, again, truth has to be explained to men with a somewhat different set of presuppositions. Moreover, there is always the thought of the Hindu world outside, necessitating the attempt to find ways of stating Christian truth in terms which Hindus can understand. All this means bringing the ploughshare to turn over the well-trodden tracks of familiar statement, a process which helps towards a new grasp of old realities.

The history of religion is far easier to teach, for the simple reason that Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Animism are all around. Some Indian Christian students are very ignorant of non-Christian customs, but even to them many things are familiar which must be laboriously reported and explained to classes held in England.

In all these ways the teacher of theology in the mission field has helps towards keeping fresh and towards pursuing research in his own department which would be greatly valued by the ablest men in our home colleges.

Corporate Life. Every student knows that the corporate life of a college is far more important than its classroom work. And in India there are special difficulties to be overcome in the creation of the right kind of collective life. In our own college the problem is this: granted a collection upon one compound of some fifty persons representing three or four western and ten or a dozen different Indian countries (for India is an aggregate of many countries), representing also ten or a dozen mother-tongues and six or eight different branches of the Christian Church, persons with every possible difference of past upbringing and custom but with one common desire to be trained for the service of Jesus Christ, how to bring into being a corporate life in which the unity of all shall be manifest and in which there shall be that fellowship in both thinking and praying which is the most fertile climate for the growth of the Christian life. We could hardly do it if we did not all live close together. But the unmarried students, and those who are married but have not brought their wives, all live in the same hostel in hourly and intimate contact. The members of the staff constantly have their houses open to students for more informal intercourse than that of the classroom. Eating and playing together, as well as working and praying together, we develop a strong corporate life, the level of which depends upon the level at which our individual spiritual life is maintained. We certainly have nothing to boast about and usually we are conscious of very definite defects in the life which we live together, but man after man has testified that the atmosphere which he found in this community was something which he had never known before and something which India supremely needs. Race and caste prejudice are in theory easily overcome by Christian people, but in fact they are apt to prove very troublesome long after they are supposed to be done away. It is no small matter that there has never been a serious dispute in our hostel and that for most of our time we are able to forget the eternal race question. The discords which are a daily distress in the ordinary life of India are here for the most part changed to harmony. Possibly the future may show that this is the greatest achievement of the college.

This unity is the more striking in that we come from several different sections of the Christian Church, for this is a union institution. Our experience has proved that Lutheran and Congregationalist, Syrian Christian and Methodist, can study theology and live the Christian life together without compromise of conviction and without misunderstanding. United striving after fuller knowledge of the truth of Christ soon produces that atmosphere ‘ in which men loathe to differ and long to understand.’ Friendships are formed which will last for life and be proof against ecclesiastical rivalries. Differences remain but are understood and respected, and instead of causing division they stand as reminders of the many-sided comprehensiveness of that Church of God which is yet to discover its unity and manifest it to the world.

While the college has this strong corporate life of its own, we try to keep in touch with the big movements which are to-day profoundly affecting the life of India as a whole. Cloistered seclusion is no ideal for this college. One specially valued link with the rest of India is through the Carey Society, a college society which includes both students and staff, and which is affiliated to the Student Christian Movement in India.

CONCLUSION. Much could be said, did space permit, about the practical activities which are as much a part of the college life as are the lectures. Appeals could be made for this work, which during the war has been carried on under the greatest financial restraints. But this account is intended most of all to seek the co-operation of all who are concerned in the work of the older theological colleges in England and America. Not merely financially, but much more intellectually and spiritually, the home theological colleges are so strong that if they know and understand the work going on in these colleges in the mission field they can stand behind them in ways which will be of the greatest value. Not the least of these ways of helping will be by the prayers of the mission study groups. Among such prayers certain definite petitions may well find a place. One is that God will send such triumph over the difficulties above mentioned that an increasing number of Indian university students of the right sort may offer themselves for training. Another is that by the way in which we live together we may be given grace to make that contribution to Christian unity which we have been called to attempt. A third is that by our college work we may be able to send a clearer knowledge of Christian truth like a fertilizing stream into the life of the churches in India. A fourth is that we may corporately be shown how to present the truth of Christ to the non-Christian mind of India, so that heavy fogs of misunderstanding and distorting mists of prejudice may be cleared away, and the real Christ in His glory may appear and speak to India's heart.

G. E. Phillips

CHURCH AND MISSION IN INDIA

By JOHN McKENZIE

It is generally agreed that one of the great ends of all missionary activity in non-Christian lands is the building up of churches which shall be, in every good sense of the term, indigenous. There are, to put it cautiously, not many mission fields in which that end has yet been attained, and one of the great problems confronting missionaries and Christian leaders in many lands is that which concerns the relation of the mission and the young Christian Church, and their relative functions during the period of transition.

In India there is now a Christian community of considerable magnitude, and it continues to grow in numbers and importance from decade to decade as no other community is growing. Its growth has been very largely the result of conversions among members of the outcaste classes, who have been nurtured in poverty and ignorance. But there has also been a small but important accession of men and women from the higher, cultured classes of Hinduism. Within the Christian community education has been diffused to a greater extent than in any other community in India, and a large percentage of the children of Christian people have had opportunities of studying in high schools and colleges. There is consequently now in India a considerable body of Christian men and women of education and culture who are alive to the problems and needs of their community. In their minds the conception of the Indian Church has come to occupy an important place. It is to them something that is not merely to be but that already is. The term ‘ Indian Church ’ is one that is in common use in conversation and in articles in periodicals, and the Representative Councils of Missions have recognized the existence of the idea in their appointment of

Committees on the Indian Church. It is of no importance for the purposes of the present discussion whether the term is correctly used or not. What is of importance is that it is used, and that it represents a conception which has come to mean much to the Indian Christian mind.

So far, however, as ecclesiastical organization is concerned, the Christian community is divided up, its members belonging to churches which are generally replicas of those existing in the West. This is a fact which does little to impair the fellowship of Indian Christians with each other, for denominational differences mean much less to them than to those in whose lands these differences first appeared. But a more serious problem is constituted by the relation in which the churches in India stand to the parent churches in the West, and to the missions of these churches in India. It is a problem that could not but arise from the very nature of the case. The earlier missionaries were in many cases the only representatives of Christianity in the localities in which they established themselves, and when converts were made, their ecclesiastical connexion was through the missionaries with some church in the West. The conception of an Indian Church or of an Indian branch of any church was one that could not arise until the members of the Church in India had become sufficiently numerous and sufficiently conscious of common interests and responsibilities for them to be able to look to one another instead of to the missionary for spiritual help and fellowship. When that stage was reached—as it has been in many parts of the Indian mission field—the problem inevitably rose of the relation of the Indian Church to the mission.

It is a problem that has various complications. When there is a body of Christian people, and a supply of men with Christian character and education fitting them for the oversight of its congregations, it is, in theory, a comparatively simple task to organize a church in India on lines similar to those on which the parent church has been established in the West. The question whether this is the wisest course to take need not now be discussed. It is the policy which has been adopted as a matter of fact in the case of the communities connected with various missions. But there are difficulties connected with this policy which render the carrying out of it in practice less simple than it seems in theory. It would be simple if the newly organized church were capable of taking over all the burdens formerly carried by the mission, and allowing the missionaries to go. But there are few parts of the Indian mission field where this has been found to be practicable. The church has not had workers or resources adequate to the work which the missions have undertaken, and in most cases the withdrawal of the mission would be a first-class calamity to the church. The question then arises as to the relative functions of the church and the mission. Is the church to be cut adrift from the mission and allowed to maintain itself as best it can, or is the church to remain as one of the departments of the mission's activity, or is any other solution possible ?

This is a question in answer to which neither churches nor missions in India have generally been able to lay down any very clear principles. We have been made familiar with much vague language to the effect that the mission is but the scaffolding while the church is the building, and that the church must increase while the mission must decrease. These oft-repeated sayings will be recognized by all as being perfectly true. The question, however, is not as to the end, but as to the means to be used for the attainment of the end. What is to be the policy of the mission in the matter of its relations with the church so that most speedily it may make itself unnecessary ? This is a question which cannot be answered by the repetition of any catchwords, but which requires for its solution all the resources of statesmanship (to use a much abused word) at the disposal of the missions and the churches.

Before considering solutions that have been proposed, let us first glance at the actual situation in its general features. Conditions vary greatly in different communities, but, as a rule, a mission has some sort of organization on the field—a conference or council—that determines the local policy of the mission, administers finance, and, generally, acts as the executive of the missionary society at home. In some cases a limited number of Indian Christians are members of this body; in other cases membership is restricted to missionaries appointed by the home society, with whom are sometimes associated a few European supporters of the mission. On the other hand, the Indian church usually has its courts, organized on lines similar to those of the home church, and the membership of these consists predominantly of Indian Christians. In some cases the missionaries are full members of these courts; in others they may take part in the deliberations without having the right of voting; while in other cases they take no part at all. This very rough description applies in a general way to the case of most missions and churches, but by no means to all. The Methodist Episcopal Church, for example, is organized in India as a church and not as a mission, and there are other cases where the mission fulfils the function of both mission and church.

Where church and mission co-exist in this way, whatever relationship exists between them, there are certain features which commonly characterize the being and work of each. The mission is engaged in work on a scale that, with its own resources in men and money, the church could not contemplate undertaking. Educational, medical and industrial work are almost wholly controlled by the mission; and evangelistic work is only in a slightly smaller degree carried on under its direction. The work of the church has been chiefly the edification of its members, and work among non-Christians has absorbed comparatively but a small part of its energy. Again, missions administer finances of considerable magnitude, contributed by their supporters in the home land. The congregations of the church on the other hand are usually poor. The majority of them are not self-supporting, and many of them receive aid from mission funds. Those that are self-supporting have as a rule but little money to devote to any object beyond the payment of a modest salary to their pastor and the other expenses incidental to the maintenance of a place of worship. The missions accordingly tend to impress the observer as opulent and powerful bodies, the churches as poor and weak. At the same time it has come to be realized that there is in the church a considerable and growing number of men and women who by their education, Christian character and zeal for Christian service are fitted to take a prominent part in the work of evangelizing their own land. It is also coming to be felt increasingly that it is desirable that the services of many who belong to this class should be used not merely for the work of preaching and teaching under the direction of missionaries but in the shaping of policy and the devising of methods of work. For it is possible for the Indian to know the mind of his own people as it is not given to many foreigners to know it; and, what is even more important, if the missionaries aim at the building up of an Indian Church, it seems reasonable that the Christian people should have some voice in determining the methods by which this is to be done. There is a feeling in the minds of many of them that in the service of the Indian Church as it is there is not scope for the exercise of their gifts.

There are some who believe that the solution of the problem which we are here considering is to be found in the maintenance of the distinction of the church and the mission with a view to their complete separation when the former becomes strong enough to stand by itself. When the church becomes sufficiently strongly established in any locality, it is proposed that the mission should withdraw and open up work in new fields. Certain missionary societies which have definitely adopted this policy have taken the logical course of refraining from admitting Indians to membership of their mission bodies. These they regard as temporary, and they believe that to make Indians members of them, financed and directed as they are from western lands, would be to put an obstacle in the way of the development of a strong, independent Indian Church.

As a solution of the problem, abstractly considered, this line of policy may appear attractive. But there are difficulties connected with it, both theoretical and practical. In the first place, where mission and church continue to exist alongside of each other, there are two ecclesiastical organizations seeking to do, in part of their activities at least, the same work. A church cannot live to itself, and some sort of effort to reach those who are without is necessary to its spiritual health. We have then the curious spectacle of church and mission both owning responsibility for the evangelization of a neighbourhood. The difficulty is only partly got over when the church undertakes responsibility for a limited area from which the mission withdraws; for concerted effort is still necessary, and the mission tends to be the directing agency. And there is this more serious consideration, that whether the work of evangelization is done by church or mission, it is to the church that converts are added. It does not seem reasonable, in theory at least, that members should be baptized into a church by men who are not subject to its authority. It may be that in practice there has not usually been serious difficulty, but there is always possibility of such friction.

Again, no mission can carry on its work without the assistance of Indian agents. These are members of the Indian Church, but they are led inevitably to look not to the church but to the mission as the agency which they represent. It might be argued that in appointing Indian Christians even to such subordinate posts missions have departed from the principle of the separation of church and mission to the detriment of the influence of the church. But it is replied that the church has not the means to carry on evangelistic work on a large scale, and while the mission remains it must take the chief responsibility for this work, making use of what help is available. It may be so, but there are other and more fundamental considerations.

In theory the work which a strong, vigorous mission carries on ought to serve as a stimulus to active work on the part of the members of the church, but where the ideal of separation is held there is always the danger that its influence may have a quite contrary effect. And, as a matter of fact, the impression does exist in the minds of many Indian Christians that the work of evangelization is the work of the mission and its paid agents, and not of the church. It may be replied that the reports of the work done in connexion with the recent Evangelistic Forward Movement by the members of churches which are organized independently of the missions from which they have sprung contradict the statement. It is true that in many cases there were records of large proportions of the membership of churches taking an active part in the movement. But I heard recently a distinguished Indian minister say in an address to students that the movement reminded him of a railway train. In front was the missionary driving the engine, and behind was his wife manipulating the brakes, while the Indian Christians were the passengers seated in the body of the train. This was a humorous and undoubtedly exaggerated presentation of the case. But there is no getting away from the fact that it is difficult for a body of foreign missionaries, organized for the work of evangelization and equipped with resources such as they have at their disposal, to lead the membership of the church to the realization of the ideals of service which ought to animate it.

The root of the error in the policy which we are considering lies in this, that it presupposes conditions which do not and, so far as one can see, cannot exist. In the end the Church in India must stand on its own feet, supporting itself and directing its own affairs in harmony with the aims of the Universal Church. But that stage has not yet been reached, and one great part of the task of the mission is to help it on towards that stage. This is not a policy which is calculated to give it the fullest help in its progress. The time must come when the work of the foreign missionary will have been done and he will be free to withdraw. But that time is not yet, and some better relationship must be devised between missions and churches for the period during which the latter should be gaining strength and experience for the work which will ultimately be laid upon them.

Other proposals have been made, the object of which is not so much the provision of a full solution of the problem of the relation of church and mission, as the more effective co-ordination of the available Christian resources in India. It has been strongly urged, particularly during the past few years, that missions should associate with them in their work Indian Christians who should have the same position in these missions as the missionaries sent out from western lands. This is a policy the adoption of which has been urged by many Indian Christians, and in this they have the support of the National Missionary Conference held in Calcutta in 1912. This Conference recommended missions 'to place Indians on a footing of complete equality with Europeans' and 'to open for them the highest and most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity.' One of the chief grounds on which this proposal is based is that it is the application to missionary policy of principles which have been accepted in connexion with appointments to government service. This is not the only ground, for in the minds of those who have most intelligently advocated it the one great consideration has been the fullest utilization of the best means for the advancement of the kingdom of God in India. And they believe that, given the opportunity, many Indians are capable of doing the work which the missionary is doing, and perhaps doing it better. If this be so it seems to many to be as clear as daylight that they ought to be appointed to missionary posts. Particularly within the Indian Christian community the question is constantly being asked why missions do not make such appointments, or make more of them.

It is important that the character of this desire on the part of Indian Christians that members of their own community should be associated with the missionaries in their work should be clearly understood. It has sometimes been misunderstood through the fact that occasionally expression has been given to it in a form which would not commend itself to the better class of Indian Christians, as when the chief emphasis is laid on the social position and emoluments of the missionary. These things have comparatively small place in the thoughts of those whose opinion is of value. What they do desire is that it should be possible for them to have a sphere of influence such as they believe the missionary has and they have not, in short, that it should be possible for them to co-operate with him in the fullest Christian service on equal terms. They can point to the undeniable fact that when Indian Christians have been put in this position, where reasonable care has been exercised in the selection, the policy has been justified by its results. And it is true that any mission may well feel itself to be honoured in having numbered among its missionaries men like K. C. Chatterjee and Dhanjibhai Naoroji.

But it may be doubted whether this policy meets any real difficulty, apart from the fact that it seems to meet the aspirations of educated Christians. The first and most obvious objection to it is that it strengthens the mission at the expense of the church, confirming in the minds of the people the impression that the church provides a sphere of service only for the lower order of workers, while the proper sphere of service for the higher order is in the mission. And this is not merely an imaginary danger. Even now there are few of the brighter spirits in the Indian Church who are willing to enter its ministry, while there are many who would be willing to become missionaries. Further, it seems that if church and mission are to continue thus as separate organizations, the cleavage between them is almost certain to widen. It is only certain selected individuals who can be appointed to membership of the mission, and even if they should be numerous and influential enough to give it an Indian character, the mission would still be there and the difficulties in the way of its ultimate withdrawal would be increased. There is, lastly, an even more serious objection to this policy. The mission is, in certain of its essential characteristics, a foreign body. It is financed from abroad, and its members are, whatever be its organization, messengers sent by a foreign church. It is one of the weaknesses of the missionary's position that he necessarily has this foreign connexion. The religion which he preaches is sometimes stigmatized in India as a foreign religion, and his motives are frequently suspect. It only raises new problems when missionary societies appoint Indians to represent them in their missions in India, paying their salaries and generally controlling their work. Though they are Indians they are directly or indirectly subordinate to foreign authority, and the impression remains in the minds of non-Christian Indians that they are the agents of, and that they propagate the faith of, a body animated by unnational ideals.

If the arguments presented in the foregoing pages have carried conviction with them in the mind of the reader, he will have come to recognize that the difficulties connected with the relation of church and mission take their origin ultimately from the fact that church and mission are there. The co-existence of two living ecclesiastical bodies must inevitably lead to difficulty unless there be a delimitation of their functions, such as is impossible from the very nature of these bodies. The church and the mission cannot address themselves to different kinds of work, for, as we have seen, the church still requires help even in the work of evangelization. It would seem, therefore, that a satisfactory solution can be found only along the line of unification of organizations. Now, it is obvious that the church cannot be abolished as an independent organization and its functions taken over by the mission. We have, then, the other possibility, that evangelistic work should be directed from the church as centre and related directly to it.

In setting forth such a proposal it is important that we should confine ourselves to general principles and not allow ourselves to be entangled in details, which would vary in different missions and churches. But it is assumed that in any form of church organization there would be bodies representative of the church and charged with certain duties connected with the direction of its work, not composed exclusively or even in high proportion of the clergy and paid workers. In criticisms directed against missionary organizations the real point of weakness has been missed when it has been supposed that what they needed was a larger representation of Indian paid workers. What is needed is that they should be brought into closer relation with the life of the church as a whole. What is wrong with the church is that the rank and file of its members have not been made to feel that the work which is being done by missionaries and other agents is their work. The main burden of the work will, of course, always fall on those who are set apart for full-time service, but they need the hearty co-operation of the whole body of the church's membership.

It will be replied that this scheme would work admirably in the case of a church which was able to give full or even large financial support to the activities directed by it, but that it is impossible in the case of a church which must depend largely on funds contributed in other lands. It must be admitted that it is on this side that the most revolutionary changes would have to be made, and on which the greatest risks would have to be taken. But these risks are not so great as might at first sight appear. Home societies would contribute the services of missionaries, whose salaries they would provide as at present. But the grants which are contributed for the maintenance of their work would be administered not directly by them but by the church bodies on the field. Is there any reason to fear that these funds would be unwisely administered? I believe there is not. From the nature of the case, they would not be available for the gratification of any selfish ambition. They would be designated for the support of the work of the church. A considerable part of the expenditure would be in the salaries of workers, but these salaries would be fixed not by the workers themselves but by a body representing the church, in which there would be a representation of persons earning their livelihood in what are generally known as secular employments. They would see that workers were adequately paid, but there is no reason to fear that they would squander money on exorbitant salaries. For the missionary there would be this great gain, that he would no longer hold the position of a distributor of patronage, and the Indian worker, on the other hand, would no longer be in the position of servant of a foreign organization. And for all there would be this great advantage, that any piece of work that had to be done would be committed to those who seemed to be best fitted for it, without distinction of race, and that all work would be designed to contribute directly to the extension or strengthening of the church.

It is not the intention of this paper to take up the very large and complicated questions which would arise in connexion with the application of these principles to the varying conditions under which work is being carried on by different missions and among different classes of people. Nor has reference been made to certain forms of activity which, though undertaken by missions, are not in the same immediate and essential way necessary activities of the church as is the work of evangelization. No acute problem exists, for example, in connexion with the work of educational, medical and other institutions, and it is well that the case should not, for the present, be complicated by reference to them.

Lastly, it is urged that this paper be read not as setting forth a statement of fully developed proposals, but as presenting certain suggestions as to the lines on which it seems that the difficulties connected with the relations of church and mission in India are likely to be most satisfactorily adjusted.

JOHN McKENZIE

THE EFFECT OF WESTERN RULE ON ANIMISTIC HEATHENISM

By Dr N. ADRIANI

Tribes that live mentally in animism and socially in communism generally desire to keep the mental and social status of the tribe as it is. They feel entirely dependent on their forefathers, who in their life after death continue to belong to the tribe. For the ties of relationship continue after death, my dead father and mother remain my parents. And as I am firmly convinced of their existence after their death, and as I moreover see them in my dreams, while the trees they have planted, the buffaloes they have bred, the objects they have made continually remind me of them, therefore I still consider that they belong to the community of the living, and like everybody around me I think that all must remain as it was left by my forefathers, in order that they in their life after death may always find pleasure in revisiting the community they have formed in their lives.

The conservatism of an animistic-communistic tribe is founded on piety towards forefathers, and it is also a result of the weakness and the distrust produced by living in communism, which hinders the growth of personality, so that nobody dare make any change in the existing state of things or, in general, take any responsibility. Every novelty is looked upon with distrust. Not they but their forefathers are responsible for what exists. Everything is done on their responsibility. The whole community remains in existence because it is kept up by the dead and the living together; therefore every alteration is fatal.

Slavery, jurisprudence, sacrifices and head hunting, the rites at weddings and funerals—everything ought to be maintained or the result is struggle between forefathers and posterity which brings the community to an end. The forefathers visit the unfaithful children with illness, famine, earthquakes, death, cattle-plague or whatever can embitter their lives ; the living are no longer blessed by their dead forefathers, strengthened and endowed with long life and constant good health as faithful guardians of what the forefathers have established, but punished as unfaithful trustees of what was given into their care.

The domestic life of these tribes is just as much a life in communication with the forefathers as their religious life. Their religious feasts are festivals in communication with forefathers, meetings with them ; in all their rites, of whatever kind, they address themselves to their forefathers directly. In social life this communication is tacitly understood, but it is not less earnestly felt than that expressed in their feasts.

If a European colonial Power is going to alter the social life of animistic-communistic tribes and purposes not to interfere with their cult because it wants to leave them religious liberty, it must not suppose that it can do so. If the officials fully understand the thoughts and feelings of the tribes they will acknowledge that they interfere with their religion when they alter the social state of things as much as when they touch their cult. The religion of animistic-communistic tribes permeates their whole life ; the community of the living is entirely under the supervision of the dead, and social offence is as much a sin against the forefathers as a neglect of the rites.

In 1905 and the following years the Dutch Government undertook the administration of Central Celebes. The inhabitants, the Toraja tribes, lived in animistic communism and had never before acknowledged the authority of the Dutch. The Dutch Government prohibited warfare and also head hunting, but the tribes were allowed to build temples and celebrate temple feasts. But the sacredness of the temple lay in the skulls of the hunted heads that were hung there. So when new villages were built in the plains and on the roads, and the old villages with their temples, situated on steep hills because of the incessant danger of war, were left, no temples were built in the new villages, for head hunting was forbidden and the temples could not be used for their real purposes.

The removal of the villages also interfered with the rights of the forefathers. Near every village there were frameworks covered with a roof, on which the coffins with the bones of the deceased were put. These graves had to be left when the village moved, and it was near these beloved dead that the people liked to live. And there were other grievances. In the new villages the houses had to be built on both sides of the road. But the forefathers had ordered that each house be built facing west, so that every one who entered had his face turned to the east, the blissful region from which flows the vital force giving man health and long life. For the sun bringing a new day every morning and rousing the sleeping (i.e. animating the body left by the soul) is the great source of life and the east the blissful region. Now that the houses were to be built opposite each other only half of them could be built as ordered by the forefathers.

The dead were first buried provisionally; they were put in a closed coffin on a framework till the flesh was decayed and the bones remained. These bones were taken from the coffins and wrapped up in a bundle which was dressed and decorated as one returned to life and put in a festive hut, where the dead body (together with other bodies, for the feast could only be given to a number of them together because of the enormous cost) was the centre of the feast. But because such a feast could only be given immediately after the harvest (for only then there was rice enough) some dead bodies had to be included before the flesh was off the bones. Then the bones were cleaned by scraping off the half-rotten flesh. This was forbidden by the Dutch Government for sanitary reasons.

At these great feasts of the dead which were given every year the people were very lavish with rice and buffaloes. For seven days sometimes two or three thousand people were treated to rice and buffalo-meat. On the seventh day one buffalo was killed for every deceased, so that sometimes twenty or more buffaloes were killed on that day alone. A feast might cost the village that gave it sixty or more buffaloes. Such a loss was destructive for live stock, and the waste of rice often resulted in famine. Therefore the Dutch Government decreed that for every ten buffaloes that were killed at such a feast one had to be paid as a tax. The result was that the number ten was not exceeded. But the feasts had lost their glory, for the wrapping up, the decorating and the bewailing of the dead could not be done properly; the dead bodies had to remain in the coffins. And such a large number of guests could not be fed any more and for every deceased they could not kill one buffalo if the number ten was not to be exceeded. In this way the great feasts declined and after a few years stopped altogether.

Jurisprudence, too, was withdrawn from the supervision of the forefathers. If a case could not be settled between the two parties concerned an ordeal settled the question, for the Torajas did not know an impartial judge to whose decision the parties had to submit. First the forefathers were called upon to point out which party was in the right. Then for each party a spearman had to throw a spear into the ground and he whose spear was thrown in deepest had settled the case in favour of his side. Such a decision was held to come from the forefathers and the case could not be taken up again. Even if the party which the general opinion considered in the right had lost, the ordeal was decisive; the forefathers bore the responsibility. And when Government abolished ordeals, it abridged the forefathers' right of decision.

That the abolition of slavery and the interdict on the execution of witches and sorcerers was contrary to the institutions of the forefathers need not be explained. But the instruction and medical treatment given by the missionaries also broke the stability of the community and brought movement which would in the long run be the death of animism. Every alteration, however small, gives a shock to animistic religion, and the great changes Government made have of necessity attacked the religion of the people. This had not been the intention of the officials. It was difficult for them to put themselves in the mental state of a people who have no religion apart from their daily life but feel entirely dependent on their forefathers, and charge these forefathers with the responsibility of their whole social welfare. Whilst the forefathers of the Torajas had ordered stagnation, the Dutch Government brought changes to a community which was perfectly convinced that for it no other state of things was possible but that in which it was living and for ever had lived.

For nations that are drawn into the sphere of international contacts, the animistic conception of the world is soon destroyed, because it requires stability. The movement has begun for the animistic tribes, and now the question is, Will it be supported, elevated and hallowed by Christianity? If this should not be the case, we could but regret the putting in motion of animistic communities. It cannot be the intention to drag these animistic tribes into a movement which they did not want and which they consider (and justly) to be the breaking up of their community. The people must also be mentally enlightened by the movement into which they are drawn. Only then can they master it, derive from it benefits bringing a new state of things, and learn to move as before they stood still. Not in being dragged about by a superior power, but in free and independent progress lies the future wellbeing of the animistic tribes.

N. ADRIANI

AN ATTEMPT TO CONSERVE THE WORK OF THE BASEL MISSION TO THE GOLD COAST[1]

By A. W. WILKIE

For seventeen years my work had been amongst the people of Calabar, Nigeria, when, in January 1918, the call came to proceed to the Gold Coast. It came at a period of special difficulty in our own mission. With a diminishing staff of missionaries we were trying to meet the needs of a field rapidly extending. It was a great personal sorrow to leave work so close to our heart, and to sever connexion with colleagues, European and African, with whom there had been so many years of happy fellowship. But their courage and faith, which refused to be depressed by the difficulties of the situation in Calabar, was an unfailing source of encouragement in the new field to which I was called. When we reached the Gold Coast and visited the mission stations bereft of all their old and beloved fathers, and were everywhere received with such a warmth of welcome, there was no further room for doubt where present duty lay. They were as sheep without a shepherd, and we felt deeply that any work which we tried to do must be inspired by the compassion and the love of Christ. From the first day of our coming amongst them the rough places have been made smooth by the affection and the loyal support of the whole community.

The story of the Basel Mission to the Gold Coast is a wonderful record of missionary enterprise. On December 8, 1828, the first missionaries landed at Christiansborg, then a Danish settlement. One by one the little band of missionaries fell victims to the climate. In March 1832 three new recruits arrived, two dying within three months. Riis only was left. For some years he worked amongst the Danish settlers, then made his way to the healthier hill country behind the coast. Two others came to his support, but both died soon after their arrival. By 1838 the society, with no visible results to encourage them, were inclined to withdraw; but in 1843 Riis, after a prolonged rest, returned to the coast with a band of Jamaican Christians. The experiment of settling Jamaicans as a means of evangelization was only partially successful, but the faith and devotion of Riis and his colleagues won the day. Barriers began to break down; Christians were gathered in; and from that date onward the story of the mission is one of steady and continuous advance. At the time of the closing of the mission in December 1917 there were 11 central stations, 33 missionaries (55 including wives); flourishing congregations and schools in most of the larger villages of the Eastern Province and Southern Asante, with a Christian community of nearly 30,000 and a communicant roll of over 12,000; while the daily attendance at schools reached 8000. There were over 300 African agents, including 29 pastors in active service.

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[1] The British Government having decided for political reasons against the continuance of the Basel Mission to the Gold Coast, invited the United Free Church of Scotland to carry on the work.

The name commonly used by the mission in official publications, 'The Basel German Evangelical Mission to the Gold Coast,' indicates the character of the work. Evangelism was the mainspring of every effort. The aim was to build up a community putting into practice evangelical doctrine. Wherever work was established, in the smaller villages as well as for central stations, a large piece of land was acquired, usually on the outskirts of the native village. On this site the mission houses were built, with the village church as the centre of the new community. Converts left their homes in heathen surroundings and settled upon the mission station. As the community grew, presbyters (or elders) were appointed who acted not only as helpers in the congregations but as a kind of village overseers. The advantages of the system in the earlier stages are obvious; the dangers, both from the religious and the civic sides, are probably equally obvious.

Out of the village church grew the schools. (At first the school met in the church; as numbers increased, in separate buildings.) Great stress was laid upon primary education. Communicants were disciplined if their children were not sent to school; attendance was compulsory for boys but it was found impracticable to do more than counsel the attendance of girls. The evangelical character of education was carefully fostered. Special attention was wisely given to the teaching of the vernacular and to religious instruction. No attempt, however, was made to carry the village school instruction beyond Standard III. Promising pupils were transferred to one of the six middle boarding schools which were in course of time established. Education in these schools took the pupils as far as Standard VII.

The missionary character of school work was secured by the type of training provided for the teachers. Two seminaries were established, at Akropong and at Abetifi: tribal difficulties apparently dictating the policy of maintaining two parallel institutions. The complete course covered four years. In the first two years the training was specially directed towards school teaching, preparing students for the government teachers' certificates. In the second two years the course was religious and theological. All the fully trained agents were thus well equipped for evangelical mission work. Teachers were trained catechists: catechists were trained teachers. The pastors were chosen from the ranks of the more experienced and approved catechists.

This brief account is necessary for an understanding of the problem which had to be met when I arrived on the Gold Coast in early March 1918.

It was an obvious duty to meet as soon as possible with all the native agents and to visit each of the eleven central stations. I must record the sympathetic help of many government officers, who smoothed difficulties for us in transport and enabled us to accomplish our journeys with a rapidity and ease which could not otherwise have been possible. In a short time we had visited each of the stations, meeting with the pastors and presbyters, the catechists and teachers of every district. Their affectionate greeting and welcome was very touching. I explained in each place the principles we wished to follow. Our aim was to conserve and continue the work of the late Basel Mission ; to introduce as few changes as possible and to continue along the lines with which they were familiar, preserving the forms of worship which they had learned to love. I explained the general principles of a Scottish mission to show how close these principles and practices were to their own. It was not the aim of our missions to establish in foreign countries exact reproductions of a system which had proved most adapted to Scottish character, but rather to look for the natural development of a church which would meet the special needs of each country. This made it comparatively easy for us to adapt ourselves to forms which might differ from those usual in our own home-country. We came amongst them with a single motive, humbly seeking—not the honour of any ‘ church,’ but the glory of God and to work with them for the advancement of the kingdom of our one Lord.

The critical stage in the mission history made it imperative to consider how all resources could be best utilized. Apart from the particular crisis, the time seemed ripe for making still higher use of the valuable trained native resources. In consultation with some of the more experienced pastors, the eleven central districts, formerly supervised by thirty-three foreign missionaries, were subdivided and each of the thirty pastors given a special sphere of influence. Supervision of this work is essential. These pastors are inexperienced in exercising authority and most of them are timid when faced by unpleasant difficulties. With few exceptions they recognize how unable they are to stand alone: those in whom one would repose greatest confidence recognizing most fully their limitations.

After visiting the stations and meeting with district leaders, a synod of the whole church was called. At first I considered calling pastors only, but it seemed wiser to associate with them representative presbyters (elders). This synod of sixty members met at Akropong, the centre of the mission, in August 1918. I was anxious that from the outset the Church should recognize its essential unity—and its continuity with the past. A synod with legislative power had not previously met, and it was necessary to steer between the rocks upon which it might suffer shipwreck. Inexperienced in self-government, absolute and final control might lead to a rapid deterioration of discipline and end in anarchy: merely nominal power would certainly not bring out the very highest possible in the African Church. After careful consideration, I constituted the synod as the supreme court of the Church, reserving however to the mission council the right of veto to any decision. A mission council worth its salt, co-operating with the Church, should be able to exercise such Christian tact as seldom to require to exercise the veto, but the right must, in experimental stages, be reserved so as to secure sound policy and discipline.

One of the first duties of the synod was to appoint a small African committee to deal with cases of emergency arising between meetings of synod, and to act as a standing committee to work and consult with the mission council in all matters of general policy. I wished this committee to be the choice of the whole Church, not imposed upon them by myself. I nominated twelve, and asked them after a period of quiet prayer to select eight. The choice fell—I am convinced—upon the best men. With these eight pastors I have conferred from that day onwards in every matter of church government and mission policy. There has been a spirit of hearty co-operation and fellowship, and a strong tie of affection has been knit filling months of difficult work with happy memories.

In normal years the Church has been able to support financially the whole of the local work of congregations and schools. But the years 1917 and 1918 were critical years for the Gold Coast Colony. The submarine campaign had so reduced shipping that drastic restrictions had to be placed upon the export of cocoa, the main source of the wealth of the Colony. Cocoa which formerly sold at thirty shillings a load had fallen in some districts to as low as two and sixpence a load. It was inconceivable that the local church could meet the expenditure—estimated at £12,000—required to support the agents. Government therefore made a special vote securing the payment of the salary of all teachers in the mission—not only of these in formerly government-assisted schools, but in *all* the village schools. The Government, after I came round to the Gold Coast, agreed that this special grant would not alter the character of the schools. They remained mission schools and the teachers continued to be mission teachers. The schools were free—under my final supervision and direction —to follow the old principles for which they were established, and the teachers were under strict mission discipline. Any teacher, for instance, who neglected his work as a catechist of the Church would be subject to dismissal or to reduction of salary. To the kindly and sympathetic help of the Director of Education, Mr Oman, and to every member of his staff, I must make more than passing reference. They have been more than secular inspectors of schools : they have been earnest Christian friends of the people.

The special vote was not intended to absolve the local church from all responsibility for the support of the teachers, and to their great credit, be it said, they never shirked the responsibility. In a year of great financial straits they contributed nobly. After paying the salaries of all pastors and evangelists and sundry general expenses—a total of over £3500—there was in my hands at the end of 1918 balances of contributions amounting to £4707. These balances were transferred to the Government, which re-voted £3707 to the mission for special purposes: the improvement of senior school buildings. The financial arrangement was continued for 1919, and at the end of this year I anticipate that the surplus will be considerably higher. From January 1, 1920, the special vote ceases, but at the synod which met in August 1919 the Church cheerfully accepted responsibility not only for the whole expenditure, but agreed to increase substantially the salaries of all agents. I have full confidence in their ability and determination to carry through this policy.

Until help came in December 1918, the training of teachers at Akropong had to be left in the hands of the Government. A European master from the government training college was placed in charge. His work was marked by much sympathy and by a willingness to maintain the distinctively missionary character of the institution. But it was a great joy to all when we were able to assume control with the arrival of the Rev. W. Samson, B.D., a man of exceptional ability with special qualifications for the training of teachers.

The seminary at Abetifi was inevitably limited to the training of catechists. For a year the work was in the hands of a native pastor and a catechist, who confined themselves mainly to the reading of old lectures. In the early part of the present year the Rev. G. Douglas Reith, B.D., who had experience in one of our Indian colleges, arrived and has since been in charge. The former training was mainly in the vernacular, and I am unable to speak therefore with confidence of the character of the lectures. They appear to have been rather more dogmatic and formally theological than is now customary in Scottish foreign institutions of the kind. Our aim is rather towards a simpler (but not less rich) teaching related at every stage to the conditions and the difficulties of local living thought.

It was also necessary to make a most careful study of local financial methods and conditions. This proved a most laborious part of my work, and it often required great exercise of faith to hold firmly to my conviction that every necessary duty can and must be filled with the missionary and evangelical spirit. It was necessary to complete the late mission accounts for 1917 in each of the eleven stations: but I can now believe that it was well worth all the labour and the pain.

The local funds can be roughly distinguished as congregational and central. The sources of the congregational funds are the weekly Sunday offerings: the charges on the funds purely local. These funds are now entrusted, under safeguards, to the local church leaders, but as they are inexperienced in controlling such trusts caution will be required.

The mission agents, pastors, catechists and teachers are all supported from a central fund: an excellent system which makes it possible to maintain even in the poorest district qualified and trained agents. The sources of the fund are a compulsory church fee from all communicants, assessed at six to eight shillings for women and eight to ten shillings for men; in 1918, £4300 was obtained from this source. The second main source is an annual voluntary contribution from each district. In 1918 about £3000 was contributed at these anniversary meetings, but I anticipate that contributions for 1919 will be greatly increased.

These funds were formerly collected and controlled by the missionaries. They are now collected very faithfully by the pastors themselves, who transfer to me balances left after paying certain approved salaries and other expenses. Incidentally, it may be remarked that I have instructed most of the pastors in the elements of simple book-keeping.

Women's work has been in the past less developed than any other department of the missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast. With the exception of two boarding schools for girls, one at Aburi, the other at Odumase, organized work for women does not seem to have been attempted. (I use the qualification 'organized' deliberately, for there has always been the incalculably valuable influence of the wives of the missionaries, their friendship and help and the example of their home-life.) In September 1918 we were able to reopen the school at Aburi, and conditions are being studied by two other women missionaries with a view to the development not only of work for girls but for women in other districts.

It has been impossible, owing to the great scarcity of medical missionaries in all our former fields, to do anything yet towards the continuance of medical work. This is a matter for deep regret.

In addition to the Scottish missionaries already referred to, we have had for the past year the help of two lay workers. Mr and Mrs Smith gave very valuable help mainly in the Asante district, and Mr Mackay, a Highland evangelist, was stationed at Nsaba, the centre of one very large and needy district.

The attempt to conserve this great work has burnt deep into my soul a sense of solemn responsibility. Circumstances have forced us to deal rapidly with many of the great missionary problems—but they have brought us very close to the hearts of our African church leaders and have inspired us with an ever-increasing faith in the power of God and in His tender loving-kindness towards His children.

I have used throughout this article the plural 'we' in no conventional literary sense. On all my journeys, covering in the last year about 3000 miles in motor-cars and over 1000 miles by foot and cycle, I have been accompanied by my wife. Without her wise counsel and her quick sympathy with all the people in their need it would not have been possible to overcome many of the difficulties of the situation on the Gold Coast.

A. W. Wilkie

THE MORAL IMPACT OF THE GOSPEL

A RECORD OF THIRTY YEARS' WORK AMONGST AFRICAN WOMEN

By Mrs R. H. C. GRAHAM

THE SITUATION TO BE FACED

San Salvador, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Congo, in modern times has only a population of about 2000 people. That, however, for the Lower River is considered a large town, as the population of the district live in numerous small villages separated from each other by half an hour to two hours' march. The villages evangelized from our centre at San Salvador are scattered over an area of from seven to eight thousand square miles, the district extending forty miles north, south and west of San Salvador and about sixty miles to the east. At this station I have been for over thirty years, my work being almost exclusively amongst the women and girls. I feel very strongly that a woman worker gains much more influence and respect in Africa by confining her sphere of labour to women and children.

From the beginning we have found the women accessible. I think this is due to the fact that the matriarchal system prevails on the Lower Congo. Kinship counts through the maternal side: the eldest son of the eldest sister of a chief is his heir, and the eldest son of the eldest sister always inherits his uncle's property and not his father's. This gives the women a status not found in many other countries.

The head mother of the clan is greatly respected and consulted upon all family and financial questions. If there is no male heir to the chiefdom a woman can inherit that position. Many women are chosen as councillors in the different villages, hearing and judging important country palavers. Women of this description using their gifts in native fashion often do so to the moral detriment of others.

To be childless is the biggest burden a Congo woman or man can bear. There is almost a worship of sexual instincts. In many heathen villages there are houses where the young men live together and the mothers encourage their little daughters to go to them thinking that it tends to their more rapid maturity. For the same reason they tell tales round the fire in the evenings which are calculated to inflame their passions. They also encourage the girls to attend the licentious dances of the country. These dances are full of revolting gestures and are hotbeds of vice. Many girls wreck their constitutions and not a few fill early graves in consequence of the excesses there practised.

Through conversations with our Christian women I have had many glimpses into the terribly immoral conditions from which they have been saved. One of them described to me the evils of the *Ndembo* custom, which may in part be a form of hysteria. About twenty or thirty young people of both sexes feign death, there is a kind of funeral and they are carried away to a stockade outside the town where they remain for a period of from three months to three years. During this time the grossest immoralities are practised. At the end of the time appointed the medicine man is supposed to bring the young people back to life and they return *en masse* to the town amid the greatest rejoicing. The *Ndembo* folk can steal, injure or even kill without fear of consequences.

As in all parts of Africa, polygamy has to be faced, and necessarily involves many customs hurtful to women. An old chief, reeking with disease, will often claim a girl child as his wife. From her infancy he has paid piece after piece of cloth to her mother's family until the amount given for her comes in value to about five pounds. She may be sent to him when only five or six years old. The consequences are that such a child becomes ill and probably dies, or at least becomes prematurely old. Native marriage in our district is a borrowing of a woman for a consideration paid; the word for marriage is identical with the verb 'to borrow.' The money is paid to the maternal uncle as for a kind of pawn. Should the woman prove unfaithful or die her family has to provide another girl, or pay back the amount given.

The custom of *Kialakazi* is one of the strongholds of polygamy. After childbirth a woman separates from her husband for four or five years, during which time her child remains unweaned. It is believed that if a woman becomes pregnant while still nursing her previous child a terrible curse will fall upon her and the unborn child will die.

Throughout the district in the early days of our work, and even now in some of our heathen villages, a woman about to become a mother is the victim of many cruel and ignorant customs. If labour is prolonged, women crowd into the hut calling the mother a coward and, if the baby is still-born, a murderess. They beat her and haul her about, and if the baby is dead the husband drags her out of his hut, deprives her of all he has given her and throws her into the bush. I used to make a practice of attending these difficult cases and staying with the mother to protect her from being treated thus.

In our district the natives believe there is a great spirit, Nzambi, but they do not think He cares for them or has anything to do with them or their lives. They have decided ideas of a future state, but as to where and of what nature it is their opinion is vague. They do not regard death as natural. If any one dies they believe some one either living or dead has 'witched away' the deceased. All ill, such as pain, sickness, misfortune and death, is believed to be the result of evil influence. Hence the

Congos resort to charms in order to protect themselves from evil. These are of many varieties; some are rudely carved images of men and women called *Teke*; others consist of bundles of rags, old feathers, powder, egg shells, serpents' heads and birds' beaks. All these are credited with power to avert, inflict or control disease. One can see the despair and hopelessness such superstition brings.

Enough has been written to make it evident how terribly evil customs affect the health and character of our women, and what a task it is to combat these customs and to raise the moral tone of the women's lives and environment.

METHODS OF WORK

The first step we took towards meeting this situation was of course the preaching of the Gospel, explaining to those who heard us that the followers of Christ must be pure. I often gained the ears and sympathies of my first audience in a heathen village by showing them that the fruits of purity in its Christian sense meant healthier babies and stronger and better children. Mothers listened eagerly to this.

We found that in addition to itinerating from village to village consecutive teaching on the Bible and on Christ's standard of purity were indispensable, so we commenced women's classes in San Salvador.

The Inquirers' Class is held weekly for women from the neighbouring villages who have become interested in our teaching. Members come from more than eight miles away; some began to attend from more distant villages, sleeping a night on the way, but this we did not encourage as their husbands objected. We have from 100 to 200 names on the roll.

From this class those who attend most regularly and are the most intelligently interested are chosen, and inquiry made as to their lives and character from the Christian women (if any) in the district. These form the

Class for Candidates for Baptism. In this class the women remain for a year or eighteen months, sometimes less, until we and the Christian women are satisfied that they really understand what it means to be a Christian. Their names are then read out at our church meeting, and if accepted the women are baptized.

Afterwards they pass on to our Class for Christian Women, where we seek to saturate their minds with Christian ethics. The training of these Christian women requires great patience and care, and the importance of this work cannot be overestimated.

From this class are selected women living in San Salvador, who can read and are well up in Scripture, to form a preparatory Class for Sunday School Teachers. We study the lesson together for an hour before the Sunday school commences. In these classes are taught our adherents, old and young, in San Salvador. In the teachers' class we generally work consecutively through one of the Gospels or the Book of Acts.

Every afternoon, Saturday excepted, we have for about an hour a School for Mothers who are too old to attend the large girls' school held in the afternoon from half-past two until five o'clock. The mothers are allowed to bring their infants, and are taught reading, writing and a little arithmetic. The older Christian women also attend this class, that we may keep them in touch with reading and Scripture, as they so easily forget what they learn when young. Once a week I give them talks on different subjects, such as pre-natal treatment, care of the young and infants, midwifery and hygiene. On Friday afternoons we have a prayer-meeting instead of the school, exclusively for Christians. Some of the most intelligent women sometimes conduct the meeting and give an address. This class gives me a splendid opportunity of talking most explicitly on subjects which raise the moral tone of the individual. We take lessons as a rule from the Epistles, going systematically through one.

On Sunday afternoons we have a large Women's Meeting for any who wish to come. I generally then take Old Testament subjects, always emphasizing the teaching of those passages on purity and social duties.

In all our classes we find the women appreciative of teaching on moral questions. They know only too well the terrible consequences to health and happiness that follow immorality. Even out in the heathen villages, as soon as the mothers knew of our attitude they would encourage little girls about to be given in marriage to run to us for protection. Our Christian women as a rule gain much influence in a village, are consulted on family difficulties, are always ready to help in trouble and sickness. Now that we have the splendid acquisition of our doctors and nurses we hope many of our women will be trained in medical subjects and give more efficient help in times of suffering in their villages.

In the mission out-posts or sub-stations in the district of San Salvador, services, schools and classes are conducted by native teachers and their wives, supported by funds from the native Church. These teachers' wives accompany their husbands when they come to attend our preparatory classes, which are held twice a year at San Salvador, during the wet season when itineration work cannot be done. This very successful branch of our work is capable of great development. The classes held morning and afternoon have been a great boon and have resulted in marked improvement and general uplift of our women teachers. The subjects taken are much the same as those I take in the School for Mothers.

Our women teachers attend these classes year after year with their husbands and children. Some of the men after passing an elementary examination enter Kimpese Training College for a course of three years' teaching, and their wives accompany them. These women are also taught sewing, but have little time as a rule for needlework. In these classes for teachers I also give elementary talks on physiology and obstetrics, the prophylactic treatment of disease, the spiritual and physical meaning of marriage, and on simple domestic economy. I always devote the first ten minutes of the classes to Scripture.

Of course our teachers do not always choose suitable wives. Some know very little and need much patience and time; others are bright and sometimes surpass their husbands in ability. It is impressed on them that they should pass their knowledge on to other women in their village schools and urge them to help to eradicate from their country the evil customs detrimental to their health. We have been greatly cheered by the result of their efforts.

If a man teacher has a wife not intelligent enough to teach women inquirers, we insist that his wife or some older Christian women be present if he takes the class. We have a regulation, suggested by our native Church itself, that no teacher's wife may train girls in her own home or have a girl nurse, as it is the custom of the country only to allow a girl to be so trained with a view to her becoming a co-wife. By having girls she would be placing her husband, who has the tendencies of polygamy in his blood, in great temptation, when his home should be an example of pure Christian marriage.

SOME RECORD OF RESULTS

We have seen with thankfulness many bad customs banished from almost every part of our district and entirely excluded from the Christian Church. The *Ndembo* custom is almost extinct; *Kialakazi* has been vigorously attacked and the Christians have abandoned it. Lessons from the Mosaic law (especially from Leviticus, chapters xii and xv) have proved of great use. No church member attends the heathen dances nor do parents permit their children to go. Christianity has given fatherhood a new meaning to the Congo mind; paternal authority is being recognized. A Christian husband will now kneel and pray with his wife in her time of suffering in childbirth and try to comfort her;

the loving sympathy and ministry of the Christian women are also hers. Much has been done to prevent early wifehood. Christians marry at a more advanced age, and girls, instead of being forced into unions chosen for them by their families, now choose their husbands themselves.

In opening up work in a heathen district, a man with more than one wife is allowed to be a church member, but he is prohibited from taking any further wives, and the ideal of monogamy is kept before him. The option of remaining with him or leaving him is given to his wives before he is baptized. It is not fair to force heathen women to leave their homes and the fathers of their children with no choice but that of entering another polygamous home or remaining single, exposed to temptation from bad men and the object of suspicion to the women around them. But in places which have come under the influences of Christianity all church members must be monogamists. It is certain that family life under polygamous conditions is impossible and that degradation of woman is its invariable outcome.

The abandonment of the *Kialakazi* custom has revolutionized home-life. Women bear children in quick succession. The contrast between the children of a Christian village and those of a heathen one is a grand testimony to the power of Christ in the country. The children of our Christians are children in the real sense of the word, bright, intelligent and physically strong, and our villages are full of them. The children in the heathen towns are like little old men and women, many of them syphilitic. In some heathen villages only one or two puny specimens of childhood are visible.

A new need has arisen owing to the number of little children in Christian homes. The farms are some distance from the villages and the women who do the main part of the work cannot leave their little ones at home. Yet it is a big burden for a Congo woman to carry one child on her back, another in her arms and a huge basket of produce on her head. We encourage a Christian woman to work on the land, partly because she has a larger family to provide for, partly because in a native home she has not work enough to do, but we are teaching her husband to help her. We hope also in connexion with our mission to open a crêche where children may be cared for while their mothers are at work on the farms.

Home-life is coming into many of our districts, each little home becoming a centre of Christian influence. Home ties too are becoming sacred to the people in a sense unknown in former generations. Other virtues essential to the Christian life are becoming more manifest, such as care for the aged and suffering, kindliness, modesty and cleanliness. A new conscience is being awakened, and our Church is the source of individual, social and national reform.

Our youths are being trained in industrial arts and our girls to use their hands, make their own clothes and above all to be purer wives and better mothers. We encourage all kinds of outdoor games, as we find they are the best corrective to the over-development of sexual instincts.

In our Church we have several members who were once medicine women or native doctors. Some of these are of unique personality and influence. As I write, the face of one of these comes up before me. She is now chieftainess of a village. In the olden days, finding her own medicine could not cure her she came to me at the dispensary at San Salvador to be treated. She thus came into touch with spiritual things and was baptized. She is now one of our leading deaconesses and has a beautiful spirit and very dignified bearing. When the gifts of these Congo women are directed in channels different from those of their former life some of them manifest much executive and initiative ability. From early days we have had deaconesses in our Church in San Salvador and in the surrounding villages who go from place to place telling little groups of women of the Saviour, shepherding the weaker members of the flock and urging the need for a purity of life which is worthy of Christ.

Some of the Christian women—seniors who have been members for twenty years or more—give splendid help in our church work. They have gained respect and love by their wise counsel to younger wives and mothers and have given freely of their time and means. One especially, Neyakala, who always used to pay her church subscription six months in advance and who has been deaconess in a large district for years, is very worthy of mention. She suffered much persecution in the rebellion of 1913–4, and lost all her possessions. During that time a number of women adherents who had gone back surrounded her and threatened to take her life because she had taught them about the white man's God, who had failed them and had let the suffering of the rebellion come upon them. They kept her in suspense for days, saying they intended to kill her if she did not recant and believe again in witchcraft. In one of our prayer-meetings she told us how she suffered in those days of persecution, and the wonderful joy and peace which filled her soul during that time. Her face is always shining, and her prayers often help to bring us missionaries nearer to God. This woman is one of the many examples of what simple but systematic scriptural teaching can make out of the older converts who so often, owing to their ignorance and conservatism, are the despair of the missionary.

Another testimony to the grace of God is found in the childless couples who are facing their lot bravely and living down public opinion on this subject. I think of one couple specially, an evangelist and his wife, who are childless. For years they have faithfully done their work at our station Mpangu, in spite of the native way of looking at this matter, and have been the means of leading many to Christ. Zulante, the woman, has especially gained universal respect from both heathen and Christians because of her upright life and sweet ministry to others.

During the rebellion there were a number of European soldiers stationed at San Salvador who did their utmost to entice our women and girls. These men were amazed to be met with such indignant and decided refusals, saying that in no place in Africa that they had visited had they met such a reception from native women. As a result our girls and women were subsequently treated with marked respect by these very men.

I do not believe in interfering with native custom where it is not in itself sinful or detrimental to health, for I know the moral force of the Gospel is so uplifting and far-reaching in its effects that once our converts have their minds filled with Christian ethics all that is not good will soon be eliminated.

J. R. Graham

A SOCIAL AIM FOR A CHINESE CHRISTIAN

By ROBERT E. CHANDLER

Mr Bye of Bye-Juang (in other words, Mr White of Whitesville) wishes to join the Christian Church. He has had some religious instruction. He is recommended by his neighbours who know him best. He comes before the church elders and pastor, and an unaccountable foreign pastor, to be examined. What is Mr Bye's aim in becoming a Christian? The situation in itself is an ordeal and presents difficulties; but can we get back of the non-comprehensions, the timidity, the genuine modesty, to his own mind and attitude?

I have sat often in the position of advantage and authority opposite Mr Bye, and have wondered about him. I venture to speak for him and tell something of his idea as it comes to my understanding. The idea is not definite enough to call an aim; rather a hazy group of notions and a purpose in process of formation, ready to grow into life or to drop into mere formality. Mr Bye considers that becoming a Christian and joining the Church are the same thing; he cannot distinguish between them. And there are three things he thinks of in connexion with the whole matter. First, individual salvation. He needs to be saved from his sin. Someone has told him that and he believes it. He has experienced some salvation—from swearing or gambling or bad temper or even opium-smoking—and he wants more. He feels he can secure salvation somehow in the Church. Second, Mr Bye wants to get into the Church and be at home, safe, there. It is something like a club or a guild. There is much advantage if you once get in. There are duties, to be sure, responsibilities to the club, but chiefly they are of a passive nature. Well-being, in many senses, seems promised by admission to this church club. Third, toward the outer world, the one duty of the Church and of every member is to preach the Way. Everyone says so and a good many do the thing. A few are manifestly ill-fitted. The great number lack inclination and training and leadership and do not preach. They do not feel badly about it.

I hope I do no injustice to Mr Bye in this presentation of his Christian notions. I feel very tender toward him. I have heard testimonies to his faith and life which move me deeply and lead me to humble thanksgiving. And I would not take away anything from these concepts he has gained. He does need salvation ; and Christ came to save him. He should be at home in the Church and experience well-being there. He must preach the Good News that has come to him ; woe be unto him if he do not !

But, as we love the man, is there not something more ? Is a Christian aim comprehended in those notions he has ? Or the outlines of a Christian aim ? We must answer these questions. We foreigners, mainly, are responsible for the traditions that have come down to Mr Bye. If there is defect we are to blame. I am led far away from Bye-Juang in my attempt to answer. But I want constantly to keep this brother in mind. It is not easy. He is sometimes rich, sometimes poor ; educated or ignorant ; his village is far off in the country or on the edge of a great city. Who knows what is this 'average' Mr Bye ? And further, I am a West Countryman while he is a Son of Han. I cannot jump out of my American self and go into his Chinese self. Yet to attempt this very thing is, I believe, the only Christian and missionary way for me to follow.

Is it necessary to have a bigger aim, a social aim, for a Christian ? The mere statement presented above of the common notions shows the crying need. A social aim is wanted first as a corrective of the individualistic, limiting, unconsciously selfish point of view. If embracing Christianity means that I am to be saved but not necessarily all my neighbours; that the Church exists for the good of its members rather than of society; that it preaches the Way in any half-hearted, indefinite sense—then we are in danger of narrowing and stifling in its beginning that marvellous thing, a Christian life. Mr Bye may grow in grace, but it will be in spite of his beliefs and ideas, not by help of them. We need something with an inclusive tendency. We need to face the facts of all life as they are.

Again a social aim and practice are necessary as concrete illustration of what Christianity can do. I might say, in some places as demonstration that it is doing anything. When the Great Flood came upon North China in 1917 both Chinese and western Christians took the opportunity to express their concern for the whole community and the whole province in its need, and their readiness to serve. And now in many a town and village where for years has stood a church building and a humble group of adherents, there is a glimmering of an understanding of what the Christian enterprise really is. Land and buildings in central places are being given to the Church; it is recognized as being of and for the community, a centre of help in the needs of all. So the Church is coming to its own through a social aim and practice.

A social aim is needed not merely as corrective of narrow views, or as demonstration of what Christianity means and does. We are not playing at common life while the real thing is somewhere else. The point is this: only as our Christian aim is social can we possibly realize our Christian goal, the kingdom of God upon earth. We give up the task unless we aim to Christianize the whole of life. We want Mr Bye; but we don't want him, and we can't get him, without Bye-Juang too. And life is built up from the bottom, from the economic interests. All other interests, up to the intellectual, political, æsthetic and religious, are inseparably connected with food, clothing and shelter. No permanent progress or improvement can be expected on the upper planes without improvement in economic status. We must listen to our sociologists on these points ; and to the Epistle of James. For a Christian aim it is vitally important that people have a real chance for subsistence, and something more. The cry comes clearly enough from earnest missionaries among the mine workers of Africa, the ryots of India and the factory hands of Japan ; it comes from China's villages and city streets. A man, a family, must have subsistence ; they must have leisure ; then perhaps they may be religious. All honour to those who, like Sam Higginbotham and Joseph Bailie, have had the vision and the practical skill to give a great lift on these lines. The economic life is not all. Man does not live by bread alone. But he must have bread.

What has experience to show about a social aim ? What does it accomplish ? From a Chinese the pragmatic question is sure to come. In Mr Bye's own experience, it is safe to say, the first attraction to the Jesus Way came in a social work. A hospital, an opium refuge, a flood refuge, a school. And there he noted the worker : effectual daily service linked with a character of winsome beauty and strength. So he came to Jesus, 'who went about doing good.' Is not the supreme and unchanging attractiveness of the Master in just that simple thing, His social spirit ? Mr Bye feels it, as does every one of us. He associates himself with the Jesus Church. He is led on to other teaching, lofty and deep, sometimes mysterious. The pity is that somehow he is led to think, as do his teachers, that the essence of Christianity is in something else, something metaphysical, doctrinal ; whereas it can never be separated from the social spirit and social living. Sometimes 'the Church stands aloof from the world ; and the world takes deadly revenge by accepting the position.' We have confused Mr Bye, when the path might have been kept clear all through his Christian growth.

Mr Bye will apply the test of experience. He will study the social aims and social results of Jesus' living, with or without our help. He will understand, at least dimly, what liberation has come to humanity through the centuries since Jesus. Not all in social progress has come from Christianity. But the main impulse has been the social spirit in followers of Jesus. Mr Bye will look at his own country and the effects of Christianity there. He will fairly ask, What would be the condition of China now if there had been no mission schools, nor hospitals, nor Christians aiding in opium reform, anti-footbinding and like movements ? Where would Chinese women be to-day without the last hundred years of Christian missions ? The experience of China has justified a social aim for Chinese Christians.

We come to the present. The war has shaken all society and all nations. We rightly question our economic and industrial systems, our governments, our education, our religion. These are no academic discussions. We know that changes are being made and must be made. Reconstruction is the necessary word. The paths are not clear and the process is immeasurably difficult. The sinister, coercive influence of the war situation is upon us still. The Paris Conference could not settle all the problems ; nor will the League of Nations. If ever a fully social Christian aim was necessary, it is now in this world situation. Men have not such an aim, that is the trouble ; and it is not acquired in a moment.

But the war has shaken the nations together. We have a world situation which is one. The fundamental problems are the same in all countries. Industrialism is coming everywhere, if it has not already come. Democracy is everywhere. This movement is much wider than any political form. It is, at bottom, a struggle for justice.

Mr Bye has been pondering these matters, especially since the war began and Japan and China went in. There are problems of industrialism and of democracy down in Bye-Juang. It is a part of the great world. He wants to talk it over, to reason out what is possible and what is right.

Political and social forms are in part symptomatic of fundamental evils which lie beneath. What is man up against everywhere? Bring out into the open these giant enemies of society: poverty, disease, vice, crime, war, ignorance. They nearly cover the field; they set the social task. It is well to look at them all together. Mr Bye faces them every one, inside or outside his religion. They are terrible in their power, overwhelming. They fight together. All the worser giants are entrenched in ignorance, the last. Christian missions and the Christian Church have nearly always done some fighting against ignorance. But that is only the beginning of the battle.

However, we have no reason for discouragement. There is a great social hope for Mr Bye, inherent in a Christian social aim. Jesus gave us principles and He gave us power even to remove mountains. Science is here to teach us many things. Certain methods are proved. Some of these evils, in some phases and in some places, are being met and vanquished. Mr Bye needs to know these things. There is hope even about poverty, such a crushing burden upon the masses of China. We can at least lay down some outlines of a program to carry out our social aim.

The program must have two parts. One is preventive, which includes also the ameliorative; the other is constructive. Before you can root out any evil you must have a substitute taking its place. The Church must face its responsibility in carrying out this program. A social creed is important for the Churches of Christ in China, as in America. We will not go into these problems; but here is a task to kindle the imagination and call out the utmost energy of every Christian in China and the world.

What can I propose to Mr Bye? He needs a social aim; I want to help him form one. I should say to him first, that our goal is the same as Christ's—the establishment of the kingdom of God. And to follow Christ's words the aim and purpose would be this: 'I will seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness.' But to be more specific, I may try another statement. Let this be a suggestion:

'As I know that God loves me and gave His Son to be my Friend and Saviour, even to the sacrifice of the Cross, I purpose to make that love known to every man, woman and child who is near me. I will be faithful in my work, and so contribute to the good of all. I will help, if I can, every neighbour in need. I will fight every evil that oppresses man. I will co-operate in every good cause. I will constantly work to make my home Christian, and my community and my nation. For I believe that every person on earth, and every part of life, is to be brought under the law of Christ, the law of active love and sacrifice. I follow Him as my example; in Him is my trust, He has the power for me and for all men.'

This starts with gratitude, a natural and a high motive; and it includes some belief, so much as is necessary at the start for one who risks the adventure of faith under the leadership of Jesus. It will be disastrous if Mr Bye takes this or any other statement without thought and considers such formulation to be an end in itself. But he will be vastly helped if led to frame for himself some statement coming out of his own experience of God and his neighbour. As he tries it out in Bye-Juang, and grows, the aim will be changed and grow.

How shall Mr Bye carry his social aim into effect? How shall he work for the kingdom of God in Bye-Juang? I really cannot say. Perhaps through the Church. But probably the Church will be insufficient for the whole task.

Possibly this Church is unfitted to undertake any large social task. In any case other organizations will be necessary, perhaps many of them. This is a question of the particular means and methods to use in a given situation. And it is a subject by itself. Certainly Mr Bye will look to the Church for Christian fellowship, for nurture. He should. I will suggest three functions of the Church in its community. These do not cover all its opportunities and duties. But they are of prime importance.

First, the Church should be a meeting-place for all social-minded people. Here is the place to 'marshal the moral forces capable of breaking what must be broken, and of building what must be built.' Every organization and every individual working for the uplift of the community ought to be at home in the Church. Here is the centre for uniting these forces, if there is any. Not that all will be there as members; but they should be at home in the church building, and in the church crowd. There are many men and women of social and religious lives who do not join the Church. We confess it to our shame; their purpose and power are not linked with ours. In America the defection of the labouring men, and of a liberal, intellectual group from the Church is the most serious aspect of the religious situation.

A second function of the Church is by far the most important of all. It must be a source of inspiration and continuing energy. It should inspire and sustain men in Christian living, that is, social living. Without this function the Church has no valid excuse to be. It is the only institution in society which claims to lead men to God and to the godlike life. Is it doing that? We know the dangers of an institution. Some churches are doing so many things that amid the buzz of the wheels there is not time nor quiet for spiritual upbuilding. On the other hand we know churches which have little or no direct connexion with social enterprises yet have a secret of power and are fruitful toward the world in the lives of their members. The latter type is true to its place and mission. Does Mr Bye come out of his little church with a new vision and fresh courage for his task ? That is the test. Always the Church cares more for the development and education of the spiritual life of the individual than for any political or social or economic program. 'Christianity seeks to arouse discontent on the part of those who have, rather than those who have not.' This is a personal matter, and a social matter ; it is the direct, courageous line of attack which Jesus followed.

But a church is like an individual, and will 'learn by doing.' A third function may not be neglected. The Church should be an organization for doing some social reconstruction. It cannot do all. It should not waste precious strength in ill-directed, inefficient activities. Experts are sorely needed, in social work, in the enormously wide task of education. While we have not got them, we must still work at the task, consulting together. Democracy is in the method as well as in the aim. And interest in a problem, with hard direct work upon it, brings a certain degree of expertness. What social work shall a church do ? Ideally it would look over the needs of the community, pick out the one or two most serious, and plan and do something definite to meet them. Bye-Juang church may support a school, if nothing more ; a school not for the inner circle, but for the whole community.

We have had to consider the functions and aim of the Church, because they vitally concern the growth of the individual Christian. A clear and adequate aim makes for efficient, fruitful life—this is true of church and of individual. But one still may ask, with a social aim, what are we aiming at ? Is it Chinese collectively ? Is it society ? No, we aim at *persons*. This is one of the most important considerations of all. One who deals with masses only can hardly remain human. Organization, promotion, publicity—all these are important and necessary ; but all these are futile without personal touch.

The aim is social, and includes the whole environment, because the person is a social being. But the person is the thing of worth. For us, our Mr Bye; and for him, some neighbour who comes to mind. A man, a woman, a little child—each unique, peculiar, of inestimable actual and potential worth—these were the aim of the Master.

Thus a social aim is necessarily evangelistic. We want nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole man, body, mind and spirit, according to his need. Evangelism and social work go through persons only. They will best go together. We want to win every person in Bye-Juang to our Master; for their sakes we want to see Bye-Juang a transformed town and China a reconstructed nation. We cannot stop even there, for Mr Bye's race and mine have a future together.

Robert E. Chandler

DISCUSSIONS

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEIGHBOURLY LOVE

Did not courtesy require that I should take note of the direct question addressed to me by Mr E. W. Thompson in the October issue of this Review, I should hesitate about claiming space for any rejoinder, since I think there is between us no difference of opinion of any importance. When I wrote that the Hindu doctrine of the one universal Self accords a sanction to kindly impulses, it did not occur to me that in saying that such a sanction is actually derived from this doctrine I might be understood to mean that it was *legitimately* so derived. Now that I find that my statement was open to such a construction, I am grateful to Mr Thompson for challenging, as in other connexions I myself have always been in the habit of doing, the validity of the alleged sanction. As to the further point of the novelty or otherwise of the reasoning in question, even if a connexion between Hindu monism and philanthropy was really an idea quite unthought of before the latter half of the nineteenth century, this circumstance would not make it incorrect to note the operation of that idea as one of the factors in a twentieth century situation.

I agree entirely with Mr Thompson in scouting the not uncommon Hindu claim that 'while the Gospel announces the second great commandment, the Vedanta alone supplies the reason for it.' When it falls to me, as it does annually in my college class of ethics, to discuss the philosophical implications of altruism, I am in the habit of pointing out that there are two contrary inferences which, with equal validity or invalidity, may be drawn from the doctrine of the one universal Self. The believer in the one Self may say to himself (as I put it in my article): 'Why should I not give, since in giving to another I am really giving to myself?' But he may equally well say to himself: 'Why should I give? For, since the other is really myself, *my* possession of that which he wants is really *himself possessing* it.' And I am in the habit of going on to argue that while these two inferences nullify each other, both of them are in fact invalid, and that what altruism requires as its philosophical basis is a conception of real difference in identity such as Vedantic monism cannot supply.

Now the thought lying behind the paragraph of my article criticized by Mr Thompson is that since two such contrary inferences are capable of attaching themselves with equal speciousness to the doctrine of the one *ātman*, the doctrine will in practice probably work both ways. Where a kindly impulse is felt, the first inference will be at hand to reinforce it. Where such impulse is lacking (and constructive philanthropy leaves little scope for impulse), the second inference will, more or less unconsciously, operate to keep conscience quiescent.

I will only add that I find it difficult to believe that so specious an inference as the former was never drawn by the Hindu mind till the second half of last century, even if its invalidity (for surely it involves a confusing of the planes of the higher and the lower knowledge) prevented it from finding its way into serious philosophical literature.

A. G. HOGG

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH VERSE BY BENGALI WRITERS

The Bengali Book of English Verse. Selected by Theodore Douglas Dunn. With a Foreword by Sir Rabindranath Tagore. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 7s. 6d. 1918.

'I believe foreign readers while reading this book, will find much to think of in the fact that Bengal's response through literature to the call of the West is something unique in the history of the modern East. It has a future, for it is quickened with life, and it carries within itself a hope that one day it will become a great channel for communication of ideas between the adventurous West and the East of the immemorial tranquillity.'

So writes Sir Rabindranath Tagore in his foreword to this interesting anthology, and in the admirable introduction the editor, Mr Theodore Dunn, gives us an interesting account of how these verses came to be written in English by Bengali writers. To lovers of Bengal and to students of British influence in India the book will prove of special interest. Lovers of poetry will find in it a few poems of real beauty such as those of Mrs Sarojini Naidu, and the translation of an ode by Tagore to the great Bengali man of science, Sir Jagadish Bose. For Bengali verse has now arrived at a true expression of national ideals and of the national spirit, and has a revelation to make of what India really is.

The earlier poems, which date back to the beginnings of British influence in Bengal, are naturally more in the nature of imitations of western writers. Spencer, Milton, Wordsworth, Scott, opened up a new world to the young Indian of the early Victorian era, and with Macaulay himself in Calcutta it is not surprising that love for English literature grew and became informed. In these poems, which imitate the metre of Byron or Scott or of Macaulay himself, we are not surprised to find occasional lapses into sheer prose:

'Six yards and more in length,' 'An intellectual Samson,' 'Creepers of enormous bulk,' 'Widowed female hearts' or 'If the sport lasts an hour or so'!

What is more surprising is that the writers caught so much of the real spirit of English poetry, and were able to produce it in a foreign tongue.

The contrast between them and later Bengali poets is a contrast between imitation and originality. This is illustrated, for example, if we contrast some verses to 'A Young Hindu Widow' by Kasiprasad Ghose with those called 'Pardah Nashin' by Mrs Naidu. Here is the earlier strain:

Ah, fair one! lone as desert flower
  Whose bloom and beauty are in vain;
How dark was that too fatal hour
  Which brought thee lasting grief and pain!

What is the world to thee forlorn!
  Thine every path is desolate,
From all enjoyments rudely torn,
  How drear and comfortless thy fate!

What pity, friendless, helpless, poor!
  That such should be thine early lot—
Doomed to remain for evermore
  As if thou in the world wert not.

Compare this with the real poetry and the sincere spirit of modern India in these verses of Mrs Naidu:

Her life is a revolving dream
Of languid and sequestered ease;
Her girdles and her fillets gleam
Like changing fires on sunset seas;
Her raiment is like morning mist,
Shot opal, gold and amethyst.

From thieving light of eyes impure,
From coveting sun or wind's caress,
Her days are guarded and secure
Behind her carven lattices,
Like jewels in a turbaned crest,
Like secrets in a lover's breast.

But though no hand unsanctioned dares
Unveil the mysteries of her grace,
Time lifts the curtain unawares,
And sorrow looks into her face—
Who shall prevent the subtle years
Or shield a woman's eyes from tears?

It is a real joy too to possess her poem to ‘ A Buddha seated on a Lotus ’ and that on ‘ Suttee ’ which ends :

> Life of my life, Death's bitter sword
> Hath severed us like a broken word,
> Rent us in twain who are but one—
> Shall the flesh survive when the soul is gone?

Compare this with the artificiality of the verses above on the Hindu widow !

Another contrast which may give us furiously to think is to be found in the obvious admiration and even adulation of British men and British ways in the earlier poems with the rising tide of nationalism and pride in things Indian in some of the later ones :

> While we were drunk with the remote and vain
> Dead glories of our past,—in alien dress
> Walking and talking in an alien tongue
> In the caricature of other men—
> Their style, their bearing—while we shouted, yell'd
> Frog-like with swollen throat in our dark well,
> O, in what vast remoteness wert thou then? . . .
>
> Send forth this call unto thy scholar band;
> Together round the sacrifice of fire
> Let them all gather. So may our India,
> Our ancient land, unto herself return.
> O once again return to steadfast work,
> To duty and devotion, to her trance
> Of earnest meditation; let her sit
> Once more unruffled, greedless, strifeless, pure
> O once again upon her lofty seat
> And platform, teacher of all other lands.

It is this finer spirit of Indian nationalism which in these later days all who love India will seek to promote and not to thwart.

Kenneth J. Saunders

London

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore. By S. Radhakrishnan. London : Macmillan. 8s. 6d. net. 1918.

Professor Radhakrishnan's book wanders. It is badly arranged, replete with repetition. The first three chapters, that word ‘ philosophy ’ in the title of each—in India, how one fears any writing in which that word occurs !—spill out anything in Indian or even western thought which the writer remembers, with the assurance that it is in Tagore, often with a quotation as irrelevant as the long one on p. 78. The writer has read widely. He quotes Hegel, Aristotle, Churton Collins, the oldest poem, the newest periodical. But a creative artist needs interpretation by another creative artist. The reader wearies of generalizations—‘ The true poet is he who does,’ ‘ Poetry should do ’ this or that. Professor Radhakrishnan is so carried away by the habits of his mind that he makes such statements as, on p. 142, that Rabindranath ‘ does not love nature for its own sake, but because he views it as an attribute of the divine.’ No writer ever had so intimate a contact with natural beauty as Rabindranath. This, perhaps, is his surest claim to greatness. Yet a professor says he ‘ does not love nature for its own sake ’ !

But the last two chapters are valuable. Their titles substitute ‘ message ’ for ‘ philosophy.’ Professor Radhakrishnan writes ‘ all like a man.’ He shows how unselfish a spirit has supported Rabindranath in his attempts to help India and the world ; shows, too, how wise a patriot he himself is. One may wonder at the courage and certainty with which he generalizes about woman, what she is and what she should do. But in his aspirations for his country we ask him to believe that there are many Christians who feel with him and are eager to help. We realize the faults of western civilization, though we feel that Rabindranath's pronouncements on the war are often hasty and irritating. We realize how much nobleness lies in India's acceptance of evils ; how shallow and irritating we have often been in our diagnosis of India's sufferings. He raises so many interesting questions in so fair a spirit that he should write further on them.

Professor Radhakrishnan challenges the claiming of Rabindranath's religion as under Christian influence. He calls this ‘ the central question at issue,’ and quotes various writers, myself among them. He may justly object to the ill-tempered accusations of the *Spectator's* reviewer, but I think it could be shown that the other writers are not unfair. Since I am pilloried for calling it ‘ nonsense ’ to say that *Gitanjali* represents ‘ true Hinduism,’ let me add that it seems to me equally ‘ nonsense ’ to call the poet's religion Christianity. But his work has nothing of the outward dress of Hinduism—at Bolpur even the stones cry out, inscribed with texts of austere monotheism. But idolatry is not the battle-ground. Hinduism and Christianity are at grips as to *karma*, life after death and the nature and character of God. It is hard to see how *karma* can stand without the doctrine of transmigration as its expression and ratification. And surely in *karma* we have Hinduism's most characteristic doctrine. Can Professor Radhakrishnan find the Hindu *karma* or transmigration in Tagore? Transmigration is losing its hold on Hindu thought. Again, many Indian minds crave personal immortality. Ramprasad (eighteenth century) asks, in a passionate lyric, 'What is the use of salvation if it means absorption? I like eating sugar, but I have no wish to become sugar.' Rabindranath has told me that he believes Buddha's mind has been misinterpreted, and that men went wrong in thinking that he taught extinction of personality. For the third question, that of God's nature and character, I draw Professor Radhakrishnan's attention to a misquotation. He finishes Chapter II triumphantly: 'And if Rabindranath's religion is "something better than the Christianity which came into it," it only shows that the ancient religion of India has not much to gain from western Christianity.' This is a double misquotation. What I said (quoted correctly on p. 6) was: 'In him we get a glimpse of what the Christianity of India will be like, and we see that it is something better than the Christianity which came to it.' The Christianity of India will have at least a tinge of Vedantism. Tagore's religion has both the Vedantist and the Christian tinges. So in it we 'get a glimpse etc.' The Christianity of India will help western Christianity, which has made so many mistakes, to know God and Christ better. The gospels teach a simplicity of life and access to God which western Christianity has overlaid. What western Christianity is charged to carry to India is Christ; and what the ancient religion of India has to gain from Christianity is Christ—not a teacher only, but the Word made flesh, God's entrance into our lives, our poverty and agonies, living as a working man in eastern bazaars, dying the shameful death of a criminal slave.

Edward J. Thompson

Bankura

THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT

The Ahmadiya Movement. By H. A. Walter, M.A. London: Milford; Calcutta: Association Press. 3s. 6d. (cloth); Rs 1 4 as. 1918.

This posthumous work came from the press just after the sudden and lamented death of the brilliant author in the midst of his studies and activities at Lahore as Literary Secretary of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. of India and Ceylon. It is one in a series of small volumes which deal with the religious life of India, and is characterized by sound scholarship, the insight of sympathy, and loyalty to Christ in its treatment of a difficult theme. Mr Walter has sketched the history and tenets of the Ahmadiya movement, as far as he could in the language of its leaders, by liberal quotation from the literature of the movement, especially its English magazines, *The Review of Religions*, and *Islamic India.* Not content with a thorough personal study of the literature he visited Qadian, the centre of the movement, and also secured the generous co-operation of Dr H. D. Griswold, Professor D. B. Macdonald and other special students of Islam.

The first chapter sketches the life of the founder of the new sect. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Khan was born in the village of Qadian, Gurdaspur District, Panjab, on June 18, 1839. His father was by profession a native physician. He received a thorough Arabic and Persian training in his youth and soon came into touch with Scottish missionaries at Sialkot. 'The importance for future Ahmadiya doctrine of this contact with Christian missionaries during the formative years of Ahmad's life it would be difficult to exaggerate.'

In 1880 he published two parts of his most celebrated work, the *Barāhin* or proof of his mission as Reformer. In 1891 he announced that he was the promised Messiah and the Mahdi. From this date he became involved in bitter controversy with the orthodox leaders, not only of Islam but of Hinduism, through his monthly magazine. In it, says Mr Walter, 'Orthodox Hinduism, the Ārya Samāj, the Brahma Samāj and Theosophy; Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism; Bahā'ism, Christian Science and Christianity have all received attention, as well as Islam in all its ramifications, both ancient and modern, such as the Shi'ites, Ahl-i-Hadîs, Kharijites, Sufis and such representative exponents of modern tendencies as Sir Syed Ahmad Khān and Syed Amir Ali.'

Ahmad's writings were voluminous, alert, and nearly always seem to have had the note of sincerity. He was willing to suffer on behalf of his claims. He was a man of magnetic and pleasing personality, and the problem that emerges from the study of his life, as Mr Walter believes, closely resembles that which perplexes us regarding his great master, Mohammed. That he, later, like Mohammed (according to Professor Macdonald's theory) and many modern mediums, produced alleged revelations that had been deliberately forged in the interests (in his case) of a growing ambition and an ill-disguised cupidity, a mass of reliable evidence (of which only a portion is given) compels us to believe. The last ten years of his life were characterized by physical weakness and decreasing aggressiveness. He died suddenly at Lahore in 1908 and was buried at Qadian.

In the six short chapters that follow this sketch of his life Mr Walter deals with the distinctive, though strangely contradictory, claims of Ahmad to be the promised Messiah, the expected Mahdi and the incarnation of Krishna. He proves conclusively that the Ahmadiya movement was from the beginning in conflict with orthodox Islam and that to this day his followers are considered heretics by the orthodox school; some of them have suffered grievous persecution at their hands. There is a brief chapter on the Ahmadiya movement and the indigenous religions of India; and another on the growth of the movement, which after all has scarcely 70,000 followers throughout the world.

The longest and most significant chapter is that entitled 'The Ahmadiya Movement and Christianity.' It answers a question that is vital in all comparative study of religion, 'What think ye of the Christ?' Ahmad, who professed to be the promised Messiah reincarnated, not only rejected the orthodox Moslem conception that Jesus was never crucified but the taking up alive into heaven as well, seeking to prove that He eventually died like all ordinary mortals and was buried in Srinagar, Kashmir. Otherwise he seems to have felt bound to accept the Quranic portrait of 'Isa as historical. Ahmad's attitude to the Christian Scriptures is confusing. 'For practical purposes it would hardly be unfair to say that he admitted as true, temporarily, such parts of the New Testament as were needed to reinforce the argument in which at any moment he happened to be engaged. That none of it could be the inspired Word of God he was convinced.' It is very significant and not without warning to note that he found his weapons in articles written by the extreme school of critics in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, from which he quoted freely and uncritically. The virgin birth, the sinlessness of Jesus, His miracles, His death and His resurrection are denied and coarsely ridiculed. 'Ahmad and his editors seem to have canvassed the literature of all ages and nations, in so far as it was accessible to them, in order to ascertain (*sic*) and to unite in one mighty and virulent attack all the efforts that have been made to besmirch and belittle the character of Jesus of Nazareth.' Like the Babi and Bahai movements in Persia, this Indian movement of modern Islam is therefore not toward but away from Christ Jesus our Lord. The Ahmadiyas are quite willing to accept the higher ethical standards of Christianity and borrow from the gospel narrative what suits their purpose ; but they reject the only Christ we know, the Christ of history.

The Ahmadiyas have already split into two parties, that of Lahore, with a propagandist magazine and second centre at Woking, England, and the old party at Qadian. ‘ It now appears certain,’ concludes Mr Walter, ‘ that the Lahore party will be absorbed into the All-India Moslem League section of Indian Islam, contributing to it a certain added anti-Christian *animus* and, in part perhaps, the new Ahmadiya interpretation of the death of Jesus ; whereas the Qadian party will continue as a permanent and possibly a gradually widening segment of the great circle of Islam.’

We strongly commend this most important study to all missionary students.

S. M. ZWEMER

CAIRO

THE TEACHING OF THE QUR'ĀN

THE TEACHING OF THE QUR'ĀN. With an Account of its Growth, and a Subject Index. By H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON, Ph.D., D.D. London: Central Board of Missions and S.P.C.K. 136 pp. 1919.

THIS book consists of an Introduction on the origin and growth of the Qur'an (pp. 9–29) ; a study of the teaching of the Qur'an (pp. 31–73) ; a subject index to the Qur'an (pp. 75–110) ; a list of the names, with translation, of the chapters of the Qur'an (pp. 111–13) ; two pages of chronology from the birth of Mohammed to the establishment of a standard Qur'an text by 'Uthmān ; a comparative table of verse numberings in Flügel's and Indian editions (pp. 117–34) ; two pages of very brief bibliography.

The *raison d'être* of the book is undoubtedly in the study of the contents of the Qur'an and in the subject index, and both should do good service. The study has the advantage over the articles in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam* in that it is continuous and concatenated ; but it can hardly compete in detail with that dictionary, which still remains, in spite of all imperfections, the best and fullest clue to the contents of the Qur'an. It is thus a great pity that Dr Stanton did not allow himself wider scope and make his book three or four times its present length. For such a detailed examination of the theology of the Qur'an there are, even in English, excellent preliminary studies by W. R. W. Gardner and C. G. Mylrea in the 'Islam Series' of the Christian Literature Society for India. These, within the limits of their topics, will be found very full and suggestive. But it may be doubted to what extent the careful student of the Qur'an in Arabic will find his difficulties met in Dr Stanton's generalizations.

Further, for the student it would be of importance to know what was the text with which Dr Stanton worked; to that he is given no clue. Yet it need hardly be said that a theology of the Qur'an cannot be constructed except from the original Arabic. Dr Stanton's quotations are taken from Rodwell's translation, but in almost every verse there are puzzling changes, great and small. And these changes cannot be traced to any comparison with the Arabic text; they do not seem to spring from any attempt at such control. There are some signs, however, that Palmer's version has been consulted, and even that of Sale; but not with advantage to the renderings. And besides these, there is a large number of small changes which seem to be entirely unconditioned, and which suggest quotation from Rodwell by memory. I am, therefore, left in the dark as to the basis of the whole work, and can only say that there is no clear sign of use of the Arabic original except Arabic words and phrases quoted here and there. And this use of Rodwell throughout means, of course, that every rendering must be verified by reference to the original before it can be accepted and used.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

HARTFORD, U.S.A.

THE MASTERY OF THE FAR EAST

THE MASTERY OF THE FAR EAST: The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient. By ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN D.D. New York: Scribners. $6 net. 25s. net. 1919.

WHILE the eyes of all mankind have been fastened upon the titanic struggle in Europe, the mastery of the Far East with its countless millions has become practically a settled question. Fact is often stranger than fiction, and the man with the seven league boots of our nursery days has become, in history, a nation, which with giant strides has taken her place in the front rank of the world's Powers.

Who would have dared to prophesy fifty years ago, at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, that Japan, which then had not adopted the modern calender nor repealed her anti-Christian edicts, would by to-day have secured, not only the hegemony of the Far East, but an equality in the councils of peace with Great Britain, the United States of America, France and Italy ? Within twenty-five years she has matched her strength with nearly half the world, that is, with China, Russia and the German Empire, and she has done so successfully.

Realizing that a new alignment of races has developed, the author has traced the steps by which the present situation has been secured, and has developed at the same time, with considerable fullness of detail and candour, many of the problems which have emerged. The book is divided into four parts. Believing that the Korean peninsula is the strategic point in the mastery of the Far East, the first two parts have been devoted to a description of that country and the struggle for its possession. Part three contains, in fifteen chapters, a study of Japan, the imperial power of the Far East ; while in part four two hundred pages are employed in discussing the place that Christian missions occupy in the life of Korea and Japan.

Dr Brown's book possesses peculiar value at the present moment, for unquestionably Japan holds in her hands, in large measure, the weal or woe of the Far East, and we might almost say the peace of mankind, for such questions as the sale of morphia in China, the dragooning of Korea, and the Kiaochow settlement, contain elements which might easily provoke international trouble.

The author is well qualified for his task, being sufficiently detached to see the whole yet so closely in touch with facts as to know the details. He lacks the almost inevitable bias of a witness, not being a resident in one or other of the countries concerned, but he possesses in a marked degree the impartiality of the judge. He can skilfully unfold a problem with all its intricate and conflicting aspects, but appears to possess a pro for every con until the reader is in danger of being left with no settled convictions. But there are always two sides to a question and truth is frequently hard to find, and this book helps to confirm that opinion.

The author, in discussing some sharply controverted questions, has avowedly endeavoured to keep in the middle of the somewhat tortuous road and does not anticipate immunity from criticism, but the writer of this notice whose sympathies are perhaps not unnaturally with China, has been constrained by the reading of this book to think more kindly, because, perhaps, more justly, of Japan than before. The author, who is gifted with the power of putting himself into the other man's place, compels the reader to do the same and see the other side of the question.

Yet Dr Brown can deal with no unsparing hand with the faults and grievous failings of Japan, and this fact certainly adds to the force of what he has to say in favour of that nation. He is unquestionably the friend of Japan, and writes as such, but when occasion calls he does not shrink from being faithful even to wounding. This very impartiality makes the volume all the more convincing an apologia for the Island Empire of the East. Its circulation can only do good, for well-balanced knowledge is one of the best helps to peace on earth and good-will among men.

In case a second edition should be called for, it may be mentioned that on page 354 the name of Mr Hugh Matheson is incorrectly spelt Matteson, which error is repeated in the index, and on page 212 the wording unquestionably conveys the impression that a well-known medical missionary, who is still very much alive, died some time ago.

MARSHALL BROOMHALL

LONDON

ORIENTAL STUDIES AT THE LONDON SCHOOL

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES. No. 2. 151 pp. London: School of Oriental Studies. 6s. 1918.

THIS record of papers contributed to the School during the past year continues a valuable series of scholarly studies. To review it adequately would require at least three different kinds of expert. From the standpoint of general interest the most fascinating article is the translation by Mr Arthur Waley of poems of the ninth century A.D. by Po Chü-i, a governor of more than one Chinese province who also knew and expressed the sorrows of exile. One can well believe that in the original they have a Horatian poise and finish, and even in the translation they live with delicate perception and poignant feeling.

Mr Arthur Gill's paper on 'Hausa Art and Wisdom' reminds us of the cross currents that affect African languages. Hausa is Hamitic in linguistic kinship, but 'Arabic importations redress the poverty of its vocabulary with terms of precision which concern law, religion and the operations of the market'; Arabic has also furnished it with a script; but now the trend of education is to write Hausa in a phonetic form of Roman character, and it remains to be seen what English elements will come in. Literature scarcely exists 'save in a few religious songs of comparatively late origin which show strong Arabic influences.' But folklore and proverbs flourish. Of life the Hausa says acutely, 'We know the beginning, we know the end; it is the in-between which frightens us'; of rashness, 'God save us from "had I known."' The narrative and wit is broad, but touches of beauty occur. Two lovers awake 'when dawn came with its dancing motes of gold and silver which lit up the room.'

The first instalment of a survey of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars by Sir George Grierson is, like all his work, illuminating. We look forward to the continuation, and hope that a map of language distribution in India on the basis of this article will accompany it. Sir George refers to the fact that the High-Hindi or book Hindi which is now the *lingua franca* of Hindus in North India was produced early in the nineteenth century by the action of government teachers in Fort William, Calcutta, who were moved to transform Urdu by ejecting Persian and Arabic words and substituting words taken not from the current vernaculars but direct from Sanskrit. It is an interesting fact that Christian literature in Hindi began with the work of William Bowley who in the same way purged the text of Henry Martyn's Urdu New Testament. It is difficult to reconcile this origin of literary Hindi with the statement in a note on p. 75 that it took its present form in Benares. I venture to suggest also that some qualification is needed of the statement that Panjabi, of the languages connected with the Midland, is the most free from borrowed words, whether Persian or Sanskrit. This holds only of the Panjabi spoken by Sikhs and Hindus. Sir George Grierson will not allow that Lahnda, the 'western' language spoken in the farther Western Panjab and plentifully sprinkled with Persian elements, is a form of Panjabi. But in any case the speech of the Muhammadan population in the Central and Western Central Panjab is not a little penetrated with Persian and Arabic, and there is a vigorous literature in poetry and prose (witness the Qafiyas of Bulle Shah) in Musalmani Panjabi.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON

LONDON

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE FOR JEWISH PEOPLE

A Manual of Christian Evidence for Jewish People. By A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. Vol. II. London: S.P.C.K. 1919.

In the polemical literature of the Jews against Christianity the *Chizzuk Emunah* (Strengthening of Faith) by R. Isaac of Troki, a Karache scholar, occupies quite a prominent place. Although written in the sixteenth century and therefore already antiquated from a more modern Jewish point of view, the book is still very popular with the majority of the orthodox Jews who invariably draw their arguments against Christianity from the *Chizzuk Emunah.* Dr Williams does not exaggerate when telling us in the preface to his first volume that 'It is impossible to take up a Jewish paper or religious book without recognizing on nearly every page one or other of the arguments adduced in R. Isaac's famous work.' All therefore who have the spiritual welfare of the Jewish people at heart will certainly be grateful to Dr Williams for having taken upon himself the arduous task of refuting the false arguments of R. Isaac and thus assisting to remove 'the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.' This the author has done with a wealth of Christian and Jewish learning and in a spirit of Christian chivalry.

The second volume before us is a worthy companion to the first published in 1911. They form a complete whole and the one part cannot be profitably used without the other, for the Rabbi is constantly repeating himself, and an objection once answered the reader is merely referred to it when the objection crops up again and again. Both volumes are a storehouse of Christian information; things old and new are piled up in them for the reader, and missionaries especially will be grateful to the author for the aid he has afforded them in their by no means easy work. Space will not permit me to call attention to all the good things in this volume. I must therefore limit myself to one point. The Rabbi takes great offence at the inaccuracy with which Old Testament passages are quoted in the New Testament and accuses its writers of ignorance and also of wilful forgery. This view is even taken by modern Jewish writers who certainly ought to know better. Dr Williams proves from the rabbinic literature that it was never the custom of the rabbis to be exact in their quotations from the Scriptures. It is therefore quite in keeping with the true Jewish character of the New Testament that its author should quote the Scriptures in the same free way as did their learned countrymen the rabbis. This point is of great importance, well worth being borne in mind by all future commentators. Hence a fuller account of the rabbinic method of quoting the Scriptures would have been of great service.[1]

Only one or two inaccuracies came under my notice. The quotation from the Zohar on p. 18 is quite genuine. It is found in Zohar ii. 6 at the beginning of a long messianic passage. The R. Eliezer mentioned on p. 138 is not R. E. ben Hyrcanos but Elazar b. P'dath, and he as well as R. Jochanan did not belong to the end of the first but rather to the third century. I am afraid that Dr Williams has read into the quotation from Maimonides (quoted on p. 103) a meaning foreign to its author. According to the context Maimonides makes Christ the cause of all the persecutions the Jews suffered at the hand of Christian nations which is to him the greatest proof that he was not the Messiah. On p. 112 (end of par. 46 f.) Nepheri must be a misprint for St Stephen.

J. I. LANDSMAN

LONDON

SHORTER NOTICES

The Candidate and the Candidate Department of a Foreign Mission Board (New York: 25 Madison Avenue. 50 cents. 1919). This closely printed limp volume of 164 pages is the report of a conference of one hundred and thirteen members and administrative secretaries representing thirty-six foreign mission boards in Canada and the United States, which was summoned by the Committee of Reference and Counsel to meet in New York in December 1918. As a handbook of missionary preparation this volume is second in value only to that on the same subject in the Report of the Edinburgh Conference, 1910. The papers, addresses and discussions were concerned with the organization and administration of the candidate department; the guidance of prospective candidates, their selection and training—a subject approached from several angles; the relation of the candidate and candidate secretary; the ideals, literature and work of the Board of Missionary Preparation, and the effect of the war upon missionary candidature in Canada and the United States. The findings of the Conference (in addition to sections on the standard of qualifications, organization of the candidate department and selection of candidates) include a call for recruits, proposals for increased co-operation in securing and training candidates and recommendations that special attention be paid to high professional qualification in view of the growing specialization of work in the mission field. It is suggested that every candidate should have some understanding of international relationships. Members and officers of candidates' committees will find the book full of wise suggestion.

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[1] An attempt to do justice to this question has been made by a younger Jewish scholar, Dr V. Aptovitzer, in *Das Schriftwort in der rabbinischen Literatur. Prolegomena.* Wien, 1906. Pp. 21-29.

The Korean Situation (New York: 105 East Twenty-Second Street. 25 cents. 1919). The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Churches of Christ in America faced a painful task in issuing these authentic accounts given by eye-witnesses of the measures taken by Japanese officials for the suppression of disturbances in Korea in the spring of 1919. It is generally known that a passive rebellion, apparently unpremeditated, at any rate so far as the missionaries were aware, broke out in Korea partly as a result of the discussions at the Peace Conference on the right of self-determination for small nations, partly as a reaction to the effects of the close military rule imposed by Japan. What is not so widely known, at any rate in Europe, is the extreme severity of the official repressive and punitive measures taken by Japanese officials, which in many cases appear to have more in harmony with the practices of a savage than of a civilized people. While Buddhists and Christians were equally implicated in the demonstrations, punishment seems to have fallen with special severity upon the latter. Dr Sidney L. Gulick, a lifelong friend of Japan and the Japanese, is one of the signatories to the preface of this pamphlet in which the action taken by the Commission on Relations with the Orient in their effort to protect the Koreans from inhuman treatment and injustice is recorded. The earnest hope is expressed that Japan may escape from the meshes of militarism and be dominated by the new liberal policies and leaders that are coming forward. As the pamphlet went to press, cable messages were received from prominent Japanese officials giving assurances that the report of abuses committed by agents of the Japanese government was receiving attention, and that plans for the needed administrative reforms in Korea were worked out and would be introduced as soon as the necessary legal procedure was completed.

The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire: A Yearbook for 1919. Edited by E. T. Iglehart (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan; London: R.T.S.). The present reviewer, who has read this seventeenth volume from cover to cover, finds it better than any that have gone before. Appreciation becomes monotonous when repeated year by year, but each year book creates a fresh sense of indebtedness, a fresh wonder at the amount and closeness of the work contributed by unusually busy men, and a fresh desire that missionaries (not only in Japan) and mission administrators would take time to master the contents of the book. Evangelistic, educational, literary, social and co-operative work have each several chapters; for Japan, there is a further section on work among young people; for Korea, one on medical missions. The introductory chapters secure that each part of the Christian movement stands out against a background of current events. One thing would greatly add to the interest and usefulness of the volume—a fuller treatment of the Japanese churches and their work. Mr Matsuno's brief statement leaves only a thirst for more. After all, these churches are the major part of the Christian movement. A section dealing with them might take the place of that on the evangelistic work of the missions some year.

Directory of Protestant Missions in China, 1919. Edited for the China Continuation Committee by Charles L. Boynton (Shanghai: Kwang Hsüeh Publishing House. $1.30). This is one of the few books really indispensable to those concerned with missions in China. Last year's issue appeared to be as nearly perfect as any directory could well be made, but the editor, exemplifying in the sphere of intellect the Chinese saying, 'Man's heart is never satisfied,' enclosed a printed post card with each copy asking for suggestions and corrections for the next issue. Whether he has received suggestions or not, he has easily beaten his own record in the 1919 edition, and that is no small achievement. More details are given, cross references between the several parts have been added, and, in the case of all names which have disappeared since the publication of the previous directory, the cause, whether resignation, marriage or death, is recorded. Take, for instance, the case of Bishop Bashford; the new directory, under the list of names removed, has 'Bashford J. W., *d.* Apr. '19.' This alone greatly enhances the value of the book as a work of reference. This volume of three hundred odd pages is a model of systematized information arranged with scientific precision and accuracy. The writer of these lines has, in past years, literally spent weeks of labour to find out what can now be ascertained in the pages of this volume in a few minutes. The map of China, which supplements the directory, shows at a glance the distribution of the missionary body, a variety of signs indicating whether the missionary force in any given station is from one to five or any higher figure. A lad, once asked where a certain place was, replied, ' I do not know, but if you follow that road you will get there.' This book, though called a directory, does more than point the road—it actually brings the mountain to Mohammed.

Progressive Ideals of Christian Work in China (Shanghai : Evans. 60 cents. 1919). This paper-covered book of over eighty pages, edited by the Rev. Frank Rawlinson of the *Chinese Recorder*, contains fifteen short papers written by missionaries resident in China. Three of the writers are Chinese (two educationists and one a secretary of the Y.M.C.A.), and the remainder, of whom two are women, are American or British missionaries. The papers deal in general with the effect of the war, not so much on present conditions as on the development of ideas which govern the outlook of Christianity in China. The writers represent the progressive wing of the missionary body, and while no single paper is of outstanding importance, the series taken together is worth attention. Mr Rawlinson, in his preface, vouches for the virility and growing influence of the ideas which dominate the writers.

The Ministry of Women (London : S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d. net. 1919). This volume, which is enriched by a number of interesting portraits of women who held church office in the 14th to 18th centuries, consists of a short report (28 pages) prepared by an influential committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a number of appendices by various scholars. The inquiry, carried out on purely historical lines and devoid of any attempt to relate the facts ascertained to modern issues, has no direct reference to the missionary work of the Christian Church. But inasmuch as questions of the status and work of women arise not only in churches of the West but in the mission fields, the report will be found useful by all who desire to plan for the future in the light of, though not necessarily bound by, the experience and tradition of the past.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

THE Right Rev. EDWIN JAMES PALMER, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of Bombay in 1908.

The Rev. GARFIELD WILLIAMS, M.B., B.S., went to India under the Y.M.C.A. in 1908. Two years later he joined the staff of St John's College, Agra (C.M.S.), and since 1914 has been Principal of St Andrew's College, Gorakhpur. He is temporarily acting as General Secretary of the Recruiting Campaign of the Central Board of Missions in London.

The Rev. GODFREY E. PHILLIPS went to Madras under the London Missionary Society in 1901, and has been since 1911 on the staff of the United Theological College at Bangalore, South India. His book *The Outcastes' Hope* has been widely used in mission study circles.

The Rev. JOHN MACKENZIE, who went to India in 1908 under the United Free Church of Scotland, is a Professor in the Wilson College, Bombay.

Dr N. ADRIANI, one of the leaders of missionary thought in Holland, studied Indonesian languages for seven years at Leiden University and went to Central Celebes in 1894 under the Dutch Bible Society.

The Rev. A. W. WILKIE, B.D., was Secretary of the Calabar Mission Council of the United Free Church of Scotland from 1901 to 1918, and is now Secretary of the Scottish Mission at Christiansborg, Gold Coast Colony.

Mrs R. H. C. GRAHAM joined her husband at San Salvador in the Portuguese Congo in 1888, and has worked there with him ever since, with the exception of two short periods of service at other Congo stations.

The Rev. ROBERT E. CHANDLER has had seven years' service in Tientsin, China, as a missionary of the American Board (A.B.C.F.M.).

Professor A. G. HOGG of the Madras Christian College is already well known to our readers.

The writers of book reviews are Mr Kenneth Saunders, of the Indian National Y.M.C.A.; the Rev. E. J. Thompson, of the Wesleyan Mission, Bankura, Bengal; Dr S. M. Zwemer, well known as a writer on Islam and Editor of *The Moslem World*; Professor D. B. Macdonald of Hartford, U.S.A., author of several works on Islam; Mr Marshall Broomhall, Editorial Secretary of the China Inland Mission; the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, Ph.D., D.D., for many years a C.M.S. missionary in North India; and the Rev. J. I. Landsman, of the Hebrew Christian Testimony to Israel.

APPENDICES

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MOVEMENTS TOWARDS CHURCH UNION

[See Survey of the Effect of the War upon Missions, Chapter VI, pp. 32–6)]

APPENDIX A

PLAN OF UNION AND DOCTRINAL BASIS FOR THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN CHINA

(*Prepared by the Conference Committee on Church Union appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches in China, the Churches of the London Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and adopted at Nanking, January* 1919)

Plan of Union

I. Name: The name shall be 'The United Church (or "The Uniting Church") of Christ in China.' (Note. The English name finally adopted will depend upon the decision with reference to the name in Chinese.)

II. Object: The object of the Union shall be to bind the churches together into one body with a view to developing a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Chinese Church, which shall present a united living testimony to Christ and worthily represent to the world the Christian ideal.

III. Government: The United Church of Christ in China shall administer its affairs through the Local Church (Parish), the District Association (Presbytery), the Divisional Council (Synod), and the General Assembly.

(1) A Local Church (Parish) is a company of believers regularly organized and assembling statedly for public worship in one or more places, and recognized by the District Association (Presbytery) in whose bounds it is located. The method of organization of the local church is to be decided by the District Association (Presbytery).

(2) A District Association (Presbytery) is composed of all the ministers, and such men and women evangelists as have been licensed by the Association, and the lay representatives of the churches within a defined district. The lay representatives shall be elected according to the following rule, namely: Each Local Church shall appoint at least one lay representative, but churches with 200 or more in active membership may appoint at least two lay representatives; and churches with 500 or more in active membership may appoint at least three lay representatives. With the permission of the District

Association the representation of the churches of the Association may be increased. The lay delegates shall be elders or other church officers.

Each mission having missionary women working within the bounds of the District Association (Presbytery) may, with the consent of the Association, appoint one woman a member of the Association (Presbytery).

To the Association belongs the oversight and care of the churches within its bounds. It organizes, disbands, and recognizes churches; licenses, ordains, installs, dismisses, and disciplines ministers and evangelists; gives counsel and aid to churches and unorganized companies of believers; decides references and appeals regularly presented; maintains order; carries on evangelistic work and other forms of Christian activity and appoints representatives to the Divisional Council (Synod), and nominates representatives to the General Assembly to be appointed by the Divisional Council. Each District Association (Presbytery) shall adopt its own system of rules, but these shall be in harmony with the Constitution of the Divisional Council (Synod).

(3) A Divisional Council (Synod) is composed of delegates appointed by the District Associations (Presbyteries) within a given area. Each District Association (Presbytery) shall appoint two delegates for each 500 in active church membership within its bounds, one of whom shall be a layman.

In addition to its Chinese delegates to the Divisional Council (Synod) the District Association (Presbytery) may appoint missionaries in proportion to one for every three missionaries in its membership; where there is only one missionary he may be appointed.

The Divisional Council (Synod) organizes, fixes the rules, and determines the boundaries of the District Associations (Presbyteries), decides all appeals and other matters referred to it by the Associations (Presbyteries) within its bounds, organizes and controls boards for evangelistic and other Christian work, devises ways and means for strengthening and advancing the interests of the whole Church.

(4) The General Assembly. (*a*) Delegates. It shall be composed of delegates nominated by the District Associations (Presbyteries) and elected by the Divisional Councils (Synods). In case the whole number of church members in the District Association (Presbytery) is under 3000 it shall appoint one minister and one layman. In case the membership is over 3000, for every 3000 or fraction thereof it shall appoint an additional minister and layman. In addition every District Association (Presbytery) which has foreign missionaries enrolled as regular members may also appoint one missionary representative.

(*b*) Quorum. Twenty delegates assembled at the time and place appointed shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but these twenty delegates must represent at least two-thirds of the Divisional Councils (Synods) and at least one half of them must be ministers.

(*c*) The power of the General Assembly. The General Assembly shall have power to receive and issue all appeals, memorials, references, and complaints, affecting the doctrine, government, and constitution of the Church, that are brought before it in regular order from the inferior judicatories, but appeals in cases originating in the session may not be carried beyond the Divisional Council.

The General Assembly shall also have power of review and control, reviewing the records of each Divisional Council, approving or censuring the same, and it shall constitute a bond of union, peace, correspondence, and mutual confidence among all the judicatories of the Church.

To the General Assembly also belongs the power to decide all controversies respecting doctrine and Church government; to point out and, if necessary, reprove cases of error in doctrine or in practice in any Local Church, District Association (Presbytery), or Divisional Council (Synod); to consider the petitions for the division of existing Divisional Councils (Synods) or the erection of new ones; to superintend all grades of education in schools under the control of the Church, especially the curricula of its theological institutions; to decide upon the qualifications for ordination to the ministry; and to regulate the reception of ministers from other denominations; to regulate official correspondence with other denominations; to inaugurate missionary enterprises and advance the same and to further evangelistic work; to appoint commissions, committees, and officers for all branches of work, give them instructions, delegate them needed authority and receive their reports; to repress schismatical contentions and disputations, and in general, as respects its lower judicatories, to endeavour by exhortation and instruction to correct conduct, broaden the spirit of charity, and confirm them in truth and holiness.

(*d*) Meetings and Officers. The General Assembly shall meet once every three years. Its officers shall be a Moderator, a Vice-Moderator, a Stated Clerk, a Temporary Clerk, and a Treasurer. The Moderator, Vice-Moderator, and Temporary Clerk shall be elected at each regular meeting of the General Assembly, and shall be chosen from among the delegates present. The Stated Clerk and Treasurer need not necessarily be elected from the delegates, and their terms of office shall be determined by the General Assembly.

IV. Amendments. If the General Assembly shall propose to alter, increase, or diminish any of the constitutional powers of District Associations Presbyteries) or Divisional Councils (Synods), it shall be necessary to transmit the proposed action to all the District Associations (Presbyteries). If, by the time the General Assembly shall meet again, at least two-thirds of the District Associations (Presbyteries) have reported in writing approving the proposed action, the Assembly may declare the sections approved to be part of the Constitution of the Church.

Voted. That this Constitution is proposed for temporary use, and each of the participating bodies is asked to express to this Conference Committee its views as to its suitableness as a provisional basis for union. Should the reports seem to warrant it, a meeting to organize the General Assembly shall be called in the year 1921.

Doctrinal Basis of the Union

Our bond of union consists: (1) In our faith in Jesus Christ as our Redeemer and Lord on whom the Christian Church is founded, and an earnest desire for the establishment of His Kingdom throughout the whole earth; (2) In our acceptance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the divinely inspired word of God and the supreme authority in matters of faith and duty; and (3) In our acknowledgment of the Apostles' Creed as expressing the fundamental doctrines of our common evangelical faith, which faith has been the heritage and strength of the Christian Church through all its history.

The Church which will be established by this Union, being autonomous, will have the prerogative of formulating its own doctrinal statements; but these will, we believe, in the providence of God and under the teachings of His Spirit, be in essential harmony with the beliefs of the Christian Church in other lands. Until such a declaration of beliefs has been formulated, each of the different sections of the Church will continue to adhere to its own doctrinal statements.

APPENDIX B

CONSTITUTION OF ALLIANCE OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA

(*Adopted at the United Conference of Missionaries at Kikuyu, July* 26, 1918)

PREAMBLE

The following societies now working in the British East Africa Protectorate, namely, Church Missionary Society, Church of Scotland Mission, Africa Inland Mission, and United Methodist Church Mission and the British and Foreign Bible Society, recognize the divine purpose of unity among Christians, and look forward to the establishment of a United Church within the Protectorate. In the meantime they resolve to form an Alliance by the adoption of the subjoined constitution, which is hereby approved and accepted by the Allied Societies concerned, with a view to moving along agreed lines of action appropriate to each society, so as to prepare the way for further organic unity.

SECTION I

Mutual Relation and Aims of the Allied Societies

An Alliance of Societies is hereby formed who agree:

1. To respect one another's spheres, as set out in a map which a duly

authorized representative of each of the Allied Societies shall sign, as an acknowledgment of the assent of each such Society to the Alliance (provided that nothing in this Constitution shall be so understood as to prejudice the episcopal or other ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the local church authorities in any of the Allied Societies over all the members of their own Communion).

(*a*) Any missionary shall be free to visit and minister to members of his own Church living in the sphere of an Allied Society, provided that he shall first intimate his intention of so doing to the local representative of the society occupying that sphere.

(*b*) All missionary work within a district shall be under the jurisdiction of the society responsible for that district.

2. To respect the autonomy of each Allied Society within its own sphere.

3. To foster the desire for union, and by every possible means to prepare the minds of all Christians for early union.

4. To develop the local church organizations along similar lines of district and parochial councils.

5. To recognize the status (see notes *a* to *d*) of every Christian which is assigned to him by the branch of the Church of Christ to which he belongs.

(*a*) This refers to the position of a catechumen, or of a baptized or communicant member of some branch of the Church of Christ in connexion with the Allied Societies.

(*b*) While earnestly desiring such a measure of unity that full intercommunion between the members of the Allied Missions may become possible, we recognize that in existing conditions, such intercommunion between episcopal and non-episcopal missions is not yet possible.

(*c*) The bishops of the two dioceses concerned in the Alliance realize the dangers to which native converts are exposed through isolation. They deeply regret that it is impossible in the present circumstances to bid the members of their Church to seek the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained. But they will be grateful for such spiritual help as it may be possible for other missions to give to those who may be for the time isolated from the ministrations of their own Church.

(*d*) The responsible authorities of the Allied Missions will welcome as guests to their Communion any communicant member of the Allied Missions for whom the ministrations of his own Church are for the time inaccessible, and as to whose moral and spiritual fitness they are satisfied, provided always that no obligation shall rest on any such member to avail himself of this liberty.

6. To discourage proselytizing.

7. To respect the decision, in all cases of discipline, made concerning their own members by the respective Allied Societies.

Explanation.—The expression 'Allied Societies' as used in this Constitution shall be understood to mean the local governing bodies of the societies, missions, or Churches occupying the different spheres.

SECTION II

Basis of Alliance

1. The basis of alliance shall consist in:

(*a*) The loyal acceptance of Holy Scripture as our supreme rule of faith and practice; and of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief; and in the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God; in the Deity of Jesus Christ; and in the atoning death of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ground of our forgiveness.

(*b*) The regular administration of the two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, by the outward signs as commanded by Christ.

2. Those societies only shall be eligible for membership in the Constitution of the Alliance which are governed by recognized committees of missionary societies or Churches, and whose property is vested in trustees.

3. No change shall be made in any section of this Constitution except at the request of the Representative Council and with the consent of all the Allied Societies.

SECTION III

Representative Council

1. There shall be formed a Representative Council to which each of the Allied Societies shall send representatives on the following basis of representation. Each shall send delegates as follows:

One delegate for the first five missionaries or fraction thereof, and one for every complete ten thereafter. Heads of missions will be ex-officio members in addition.

2. The Council, except as provided in this Constitution, shall be wholly advisory, and shall exercise no control over the Allied Societies or Churches.

3. The Council shall meet annually at least. It shall appoint its own officers, and frame by-laws for the conduct of its own business.

4. The duties of the Council shall be:

(*a*) To make recommendations to the Allied Societies for the furtherance of the objects of the Alliance, and from time to time to frame and amend, with the consent of all the Allied Societies, any regulations which they find necessary to these objects.

(*b*) To consider and advise upon any question of mission spheres or districts, or any other matter concerning mutual relations of the Allied Societies. In the event of a difference of opinion on any question falling within the jurisdiction of the Council as above defined, the Council shall have power, if they see fit, to make representations on that question to the governing authorities of the Allied Societies concerned.

(c) To take action without delay to secure the co-operation of African Christians in the work of the Council.

5. Any application for admission to the Alliance shall, in the first instance, be submitted to the Representative Council for them to consider whether the conditions in Section II are fulfilled. The application shall then be referred to the Allied Societies for their opinion, and the final decision shall be made by the Representative Council, where a unanimous vote of representatives of Allied Societies shall be necessary for the application to be approved.

SECTION IV

METHOD TO BE ADOPTED BY EACH ALLIED SOCIETY WITHIN ITS SPHERE

A.—Membership

1. Admission to the catechumenate shall be by public profession; a minimum course of instruction, approved by the Representative Council as to its duration and general sufficiency, shall be required before Baptism.

2. Those baptized in infancy shall pass through a course of instruction, similar to that which is required of adult candidates for Baptism, before being admitted to the Lord's Supper.

B.—Sacraments

1. The administration of the sacraments shall be by recognized ministers of the branch of the Church of Christ occupying the district; provided that in cases of urgent necessity, and in the absence of a minister, any layman may administer Baptism.

2. The sacrament of Baptism, either by affusion or by immersion, and either to infants or to adults, shall be administered according to the usage of the branch of the Church of Christ occupying the district, and such Baptism shall be recognized by all members of the Allied Societies.

3. In Baptism, water, and the form 'I baptize thee in (into) the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' shall be used.

4. No person living in polygamy shall be baptized.

5. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall not be administered to anyone who is not qualified to be a communicant in the branch of the Church of Christ to which be belongs.

C.—Ministry

In the future each candidate for the native ministry to be ordained within the sphere of the Alliance shall:

1. Pass through a prescribed course of instruction.

2. Subscribe to the Basis of Alliance Section II, 1 (*a*) and (*b*).

3. Be duly set apart by the lawful authority of the Church to which he belongs with laying on of hands.

SECTION V

Relationship to non-Allied Societies

1. That the Allied Societies shall seek at all times to cultivate friendly relations with non-allied societies, and encourage with them such measures of co-operation as are found possible.

2. That the Representative Council holds itself in readiness to enter into arrangements as regards existing spheres of influence, as a temporary measure for evangelistic purposes, with all such non-allied missions as can wholeheartedly subscribe to the fundamental doctrinal Basis of Alliance as set forth in Section II, 1 (*a*).

3. That the Allied Societies will not open meantime any European stations within these spheres, nor send native agents into them.

4. That the Allied Societies shall be free to visit and minister to their own members within these spheres.

5. (*a*) That all arrangements between allied and non-allied societies as to the recognition of spheres shall be reciprocal.
   (*b*) That the Allied Societies invite those outside the Alliance to conform, as far as may be possible in each case, with the general principles and organization of the Alliance.

6. That a Conference be arranged annually, or at such intervals as may be deemed wise, in which all missionary societies and Europeans resident in British East Africa who subscribe to Section II, 1 (*a*) may be invited to take part.

Declaration of Purpose

In setting our hands to the foregoing Constitution, we the representatives of the Allied Societies desire wholeheartedly to associate ourselves with the following Resolution unanimously passed by the United Conference of Missionary Societies met at Kikuyu, June 23 to 26, 1918:

We, being profoundly convinced for the sake of our common Lord and of those African Christians to whom our controversies are as yet unknown, of the need for a United Church in British East Africa, earnestly entreat the home authorities to take such steps as may be necessary, in consultation with the Churches concerned, to remove the difficulties which at present make this ideal impossible.

In the meantime we adopt the Basis of Alliance not as the ideal, but as the utmost possible, in view of our present unhappy divisions. And the members of the Alliance pledge themselves not to rest until they can all share one ministry.

J. J. Uganda, Chairman of Conference.

R. S. Mombasa.

Charles E. Hurlburt, General Director, Africa Inland Mission.

Reginald T. Worthington, for United Methodist Church Missionary Society.

John W. Arthur, Chairman of the Mission Council of the Church of Scotland Mission.

Wm. J. W. Roome, on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

John E. Hamshere, Archdeacon of Mombasa.

H. K. Binns, K. St. Aubyn Rogers, Harry Leakey, Geo. Burns, Fredk. H. Wright (Uganda), Mary Louisa Mason, all of the Church Missionary Society; Arthur A. Hamilton, Minnie Watson, of the Church of Scotland Mission; Lee H. Downing, C. F. Johnston, Laura N. Collins, Fred. H. McKenrick, Geo. E. McCreary, H. W. Innes, W. Lewis Hetz, I. S. Caldwell, of the Africa Inland Mission.

APPENDIX C

SOUTH INDIA PROPOSALS FOR CHURCH UNION

1. Statement drawn up by twenty-three Ministers of the Anglican and South India United Churches at Tranquebar, May 1 and 2, 1919

We, as individual members of the Anglican Communion and South India United Church, having met at Tranquebar in the first ministers' conference on church union, after prayer, thought and discussion, have agreed on the following statement concerning the union of the Anglican Church with the South India United Church:

We believe that the union is the will of God, even as our Lord prayed that we might be one that the world might believe. We believe that union is the teaching of Scripture. 'There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all.'

We believe that the challenge of the present hour in the period of reconstruction after the war, in the gathering together of the nations, and the present critical situation in India itself, call us to mourn our past divisions and turn to our Lord Jesus Christ to seek in Him the unity of the body expressed in one visible Church. We face together the titanic task of the winning of India for Christ—one-fifth of the human race. Yet confronted by such an overwhelming responsibility we find ourselves rendered weak and relatively impotent by our unhappy divisions—divisions for which we were not responsible, and which have been, as it were, imposed upon us from without; divisions which we did not create, and which we do not desire to perpetuate.

In this Church we believe that three Scriptural elements must be conserved: (1) The *Congregational* element representing 'the whole Church,' with 'every member' having immediate access to God, each exercising his gift for the development of the whole body. (2) We believe it should include the delegated, organized or *Presbyterian* element, whereby the Church could unite in a General Assembly, Synods of Councils in organized unity. (3) We believe it should include the representative, executive or *Episcopal* element. Thus all three elements, no one of which is absolute or sufficient without the others, should be included in the Church of the future, for we aim not at compromise for the sake of peace but at comprehension for the sake of truth.

In seeking union, the Anglican members present stand for the one ultimate principle of *the historic Episcopate.* They ask the 'acceptance of the fact of episcopacy and not any theory as to its character.' The South India United Church members believe it is 'a necessary condition that the Episcopate *should reassume a constitutional* form' on the primitive, simple, apostolic model. While the Anglicans ask for the historic Episcopate, the members of the South India United Church also make one condition of union, namely, the recognition of *spiritual equality,* of the universal priesthood of all believers, and of the rights of the laity to their full expression in the Church. They ask that this principle of spiritual equality shall be maintained throughout at every step of the negotiations.

Upon this common ground of the historic Episcopate and of spiritual equality of all members of the two Churches, we propose union on the following basis:

(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation.
(2) The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.
(3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

We understand that the acceptance of the fact of the Episcopate does not involve the acceptance of any theory of the origin of episcopacy nor any doctrinal interpretation of the fact. It is further agreed that the terms of union should involve no Christian community in the necessity of disowning its past, and we find it no part of our duty to call in question the validity of each other's orders.

Fully recognizing that we do not commit our respective bodies to any action, we individually and unofficially agree upon the following plan of union: After full deliberation let the South India United Church, if it desires union, choose from its own members certain men who shall be consecrated as bishops. In the consecration of these first bishops it is suggested that three or more bishops of the Anglican Church shall lay their hands upon the candidates, together with an equal number of ministers as representatives of the South India United Church.

As soon as the first bishops are consecrated, the two bodies would be in inter-communion, but the further limitation of existing ministers with regard to celebrating the Communion in the churches of the other body might still remain. In accordance with the principle of spiritual equality we desire to find some means to permit ministers of either body to celebrate the Communion in the churches of the other body.

While not committing our respective bodies, we, unofficially and individually, with the blessing of God, agree to work towards union on such a basis.

As one possible solution, we would suggest that a special Service of *Commission* should be held. All ministers of both bodies desiring authority to officiate at the Communion throughout the whole Church should present themselves to receive at the hands of all the bishops of the United Churches a commission for such celebration of the Communion. Ministers of either body not desiring to officiate at the Communion in the other Church would be under no obligation to present themselves. Full liberty would be claimed for individuals on the extreme wing of each body to maintain their present views and practices.

2. STATEMENT FROM THE MALABAR SUFFRAGAN AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MAR THOMA SYRIAN CHURCH

As individual members of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, we have received an invitation from certain pastors of the Anglican Communion and of the South India United Church who met at Tranquebar, May 1 and 2, 1919, in the Ministers' Conference on Church Union, requesting the members of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church prayerfully to consider with them the question of uniting the divided Churches of Christ in India. This appeals to us the more deeply as we ourselves have been praying fervently for years for the healing of the sad divisions which have rent asunder the Church of Christ. These divisions have been particularly disastrous and destructive in India where the Church has at times become almost a byword among the non-Christians, where religion which was meant to unite mankind has actually divided it.

We agree with you that union is the will of God, and that instead of being responsible for perpetuating the divisions of Christ's Church, we should seek to answer our Lord's prayer that we all may be one.

We also believe that the awakening of a new national consciousness in India, and the entry upon a new era of responsible government, makes it imperative that the Church also, instead of wasting its strength in internal strife, should face the new conditions and work for unity in order to meet the overwhelming demand of the hours. After centuries of the bitter experience of disunion, we, like yourselves, do not desire to perpetuate such divisions.

We are glad to see that you propose union not on any basis of compromise but on one of comprehension, where each body shall contribute its treasures and tradition to the enrichment of the whole. We understand that you do not ask us to change our long-cherished conviction, principles and practices which we have maintained for centuries in the face of bitter persecution. We also understand that you do not ask us to surrender our autonomy or lose our freedom of action in things pertaining to our own communion.

We see that you propose union on the basis of four articles, and by two definite methods, with all of which we find ourselves in hearty agreement. In the constitution of our Church all the four articles mentioned are incorporated as the unchangeable fundamentals of our faith.

(1) We have held that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary for salvation, and have stood for the principle of the open Bible, which has never been forbidden to the people.

(2) We have always held the Nicene Creed, and it forms a part of our regular services. While we accept all the doctrines contained in the Apostles' Creed it has not been our practice to use it in formal worship.

(3) We have always held the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, administered with Christ's words of institution and the elements He used.

(4) We have always stood strongly for maintaining the historic Episcopate, but we agree with you that it is no part of our duty to call in question the validity of each other's orders.

A brief statement of the history of our ancient Church will serve to show our position with regard to the above articles, and our attitude toward them.

We have always held firmly to the tradition that our Church was founded by St Thomas, the Apostle of Christ, in the first century. Many historians, both ancient and modern, have adduced evidence in support of this tradition, but whether or not it can be proved historically, it is certain that following the fourth century there is undoubted proof that a strong and influential Church existed in South India as shown by its monuments, ancient Persian inscriptions, copperplate characters, and statements of travellers and historians.

In the year 345 A.D. a large emigration of Christians from Syria arrived. During the following centuries connexion was maintained with the Eastern Churches. In the period of strong Nestorian Missions to Asia the Church for a time would seem to have been related to the Bishops of Persia. From 1045 A.D., when the Western and Eastern Churches divided, we stood with the Eastern Churches and maintained the original wording of the Nicene Creed, objecting to the later western insertion of the single word *filioque* (from the Son). We even now say that the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father is worshipped with the Father and Son (St John xv. 26). While under this controversy there lay deep race prejudice between the East and the West, and the firm refusal of the East to admit the growing exclusive claims of the Papacy, we nevertheless feel to-day that it is incomprehensible to think of perpetuating the division of the Church of Christ, and shattering its strength over a contention about a word. Confronted to-day by the call to return to our original obligation of winning the world, we find ourselves united by a common task, and in the very presence of Christ our Lord lifted to a plane which transcends the medieval dissensions which formerly divided us. A century ago a mission of help was sent by the Anglican Church which led to the quickening and vitalizing of our own isolated communion. Deeply indebted as we are for the self-denying labours of the representatives of the Anglican Church on our behalf, we are all the more glad that the proposal for union comes also from the Church to which we have been so long indebted.

We believe that it is under the guidance of the Spirit that union is now proposed between the Anglican, Syrian and Free Church bodies. This would unite three Churches representing the Western Catholic, the Eastern Catholic and the Free Protestant Churches. It would be the first instance in history where union has been effected between the East and the West, between Catholic and Protestant, between episcopal and non-episcopal bodies. The prayer of centuries would thus be answered.

We are ready to consider union now that a definite proposal has come from members of the Anglican and South India United Churches. As the Church of England has for three decades suggested conditions for union we hope that our Synod will also favourably consider the same and take steps for effecting union upon this common ground. We understand that there is no question of the absorption of one Church by another, but that standing on the principle of spiritual equality before our common Lord, we shall each seek to contribute the riches of our own spiritual inheritance to the United Church of the future. We shall be glad if this union brings the long-desired dawn of a new day of Christian unity, when there shall be neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither East nor West, but as our Lord prayed we shall all be one in Him.

While writing unofficially without committing our Metropolitan and the Synod of our Church, which will have to take final action upon the matter, we as individual members of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, with the blessing of God, agree to pray and work toward union upon such a basis.

ABRAHAM MAR THOMA, *Malabar Suffragan.*
C. P. PHILIPOSE.
V. P. MAMMAN.

3. RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SOUTH INDIA UNITED CHURCH AT THEIR MEETING AT CALICUT ON SEPTEMBER 29, 1919

The General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. rejoices to see the growing desire for a United Church in India, which is manifested in the opinions of both individuals and organizations and desires to express its fullest sympathy with the idea of union with the Anglican and Mar Thoma Syrian Churches.

It therefore requests the Councils to consider the desirability or otherwise of adopting a constitutional Episcopacy:

(1) In which there shall be Bishops elected by and responsible to the General Assembly;

(2) In which there shall be mutual recognition of the absolute equality of the ministry and of the membership of the uniting Churches; and

(3) In which the resultant Church shall be an autonomous and independent entity.

It requests the Councils to send their opinions concerning this matter to the Secretary of the S.I.U.C. before February 1920.

The General Assembly also recommends that the Secretary, when all the answers from the Councils have been received, shall draft a report of the decisions and submit the same to the Councils for their information.

The Assembly further resolves to instruct the Executive Committee to confer with the representatives of the Anglican and Mar Thoma Syrian Churches and of such other bodies as they deem wise, with a view to the possibility of union.

When the Executive Committee has completed this investigation, it shall call a meeting of its own members, together with the following persons, and shall draw up a memorandum for submission to the Councils for consideration and presentation to the next General Assembly for action.

The additional members shall be Revs. F. Kingsbury, J. H. Maclean, G. G. Marshall, S. B. Simon, J. S. Masillomoni, G. G. Brown, E. H. Lewis, and Messrs Paul Daniel, A. Arulappan, J. R. Sivasubramanian and K. T. Paul.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editor has the advantage of the co-operation of Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai), Mr Jakob E. Lundahl (Stockholm), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Professor D. Julius Richter (Berlin), Mr Kenneth Saunders (Rangoon), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (London).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 160.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

I. History

Missions since the Reformation

The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World. E. C. Moore. 352 pp. Chicago: University Press. $2.00 net. 1919. *1.*

This volume by the professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University is a survey of the history of missions in the modern era set in a background of general history. It is the precursor of a larger volume shortly to be issued. A review of both is in preparation.

†A Survey of the Effect of the War upon Missions. V. Christian Education. VI. The Church in the Mission Field. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 3–36. *2.*

See also *44*, *53* and *104*.

II. Missionary Biography

Captain Bickel of the Inland Sea. Charles Kendall Harrington. 301 pp. New York: Revell. $1.75 net. 1919. *3.*

A thrilling sketch of the Baptist mariner-missionary.

Den Heer gewĳd. J. Henzel. 34 blz. Rotterdam: J. M. Bredée. f 0.25. 1919. *4.*

A life of H. P. Börresen (1825–1901), missionary among the Santals.

William George Lawes. Zendeling op Nioeë en op Nieuw-Guinea. C. van der Hoeven. 42 blz. Rotterdam: Bredée. f 0.25. 1919. *5.*

†Willem Luyke, 1826–86. Jonkvr. H. B. de

la Bassecour Caan. MNZG, LXIII, 1919 (3), 208–18. *6.*

†Carel Poensen, 1836–1919. Dr N. Adriani. MNZG, LXIII, 1919 (3), 193–207. *7.*

Charles Chapin Tracy. G. E. White, D.D. 79 pp. Boston: Pilgrim Press. $1.00 net. 1918. *8.*

A valuable sketch of the founder and first president of Anatolia College, an American Board institution in Marsovan, Asia Minor. By the present president.

John P. Williamson, a Brother to the Sioux. Winifred W. Barton. 269 pp. New York: Revell. $1.75 net. 1919. *9.*

The life-story of a missionary (died 1917) of the American Board among the Dakota Indians, especially those of the Yankton Agency.

Ministers of Mercy. James H. Franklin. 239 pp. New York: Missionary Education Movement. 75 cents. 1919. *10.*

Biographical sketches of ten medical missionaries, American and British.

Missionary Explorers. R. M. A. Ibbotson. 217 pp. London: Seeley, Service. 4s. net. 1919. *11.*

True stories of invincible courage and stirring adventures in all parts of the world.

III. The Home Base

The Ministry of Women. Report by a Committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Illus. 320 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d. net. 1919. *12.*

See review, p. 134.

Essays on Vocation. Edited by Basil Mathews. By various writers. 128 pp. London: Milford. 3s. 6d. net. 1919. *13.*

Money the Acid Test. D. McConaughy. 187 pp. New York: Missionary Education Movement. 50 cents. 1919. *14.*

Studies in stewardship for use in Bible classes, discussion groups, etc.

World Reconstruction Papers. New York: Student Volunteer Movement. 70 cents. 1919. *15.*

A series of 12 eight-page booklets in a form attractive for home propaganda, by missionary leaders. No. 1 is on Christianity the Forerunner of Democracy, No. 12 on Careers of International Service: of the intermediate numbers nine deal with mission fields and one with women's work.

The World Wide Call of Christ in the New Age. W. E. S. Holland. London: S.P.C.K. 2d. net. 1919. *16.*

†Der Anteil der Heimatlichen Missionsgemeinde an der Leitung. Lic. E. Stange. AMZ, 1919 (Oct.), 259–68. *17.*

†Kundgebungen zum Friedensschluss. EMM, 1919 (Aug.), 232–7. *18.*

†The C.M.S. and the C.E.Z.M.S. Chancellor P. V. Smith. *The Churchman* (London), 1919 (Sept.), 497–508. *19.*

An account of proposals made for the amalgamation of the two societies, with a statement of the grounds on which action has been suspended for the present.

Conference Report

†Die Konferenz der deutschen Missionsgesellschaften in Berlin an 11 und 12 Sept. AMZ, 1919 (Oct.), 249–53. *20.*

See also *116* (Candidates).

IV. The Mission Fields

Japan

(*including Chosen and Formosa*)

The Mastery of the Far East: The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient. Arthur Judson Brown. 671 pp. London: Bell. 25s. net. 1919. *21.*

See review, p. 126.

The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire, including Korea and Formosa. A Year Book for 1919. Seventeenth annual issue. Edited by Edwin Taylor Iglehart. 450+xcii pp. Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan. London: R.T.S. 6s. net. 1919. *22.*

See review, p. 133.

The Japan Year-Book. Complete cyclopædia of general information and statistics on Japan and Japanese territories for the year 1918. Y. Takenob. 7785 pp. New York: Luzac. 25s. 1919. *23.*

Romances of Old Japan. Rendered into English from Japanese Sources. Translated by Mrs Yukio Ozaki. Illus. 278 pp. London: Simpkin, Marshall. 30s. net. 1919. *24.*

Samurai Trails: A Chronicle of Wanderings on the Japanese High Road. Lucien Swift Kirtland. 300 pp. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 12s. net. 1919. *25.*

The Labor Movement in Japan. Sen Katayama. 147 pp. Chicago: Kerr. $1.00 net. 1918. *26.*

The first history in English of the labour and socialist movement in Japan. Predicts a new revolution of the masses against their exploiters.

†The 'New' Japanese National Cult. G. H. Pole. CMR, 1919 (June), 127–35. *27.*

General Review of the Year 1918–9 (Japan). Edwin Taylor Iglehart. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 3–19. *28.*

Six Decades of Christian Progress in Japan. S. H. Wainright. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 20–30. *29.*

Christian Movements Outside of the Christian Church. T. Kagawa and J. M. Davis. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 211–19. *30.*

†University Rules. JE, 1919 (June), 194–5. *31.*

A translation from the *Official Gazette* of March 29, 1919, of the laws which became effective on April 1.

The Korean Situation: Authentic Accounts of Recent Events by Eye-Witnesses. 125 pp. New York: 105 East Twenty-Second Street. 25 cents. 1919. *32*.

See review, p. 132.

†The Disturbances in Korea. K. Ishizaka. JE, 1919 (July), 238–43. *33*.

An article written after a tour made in Korea by representatives of the Federated Churches and Missions of Japan. Translated from the *Gokyo* for June 20, 1919.

See also *3* (Biography); *121–2* (Evangelistic); *124–5* (Education); *132* (Literature); *14 a* (Co-operation); *180–1, 183* (Social Problems); *191* (Young People).

China

The China Year Book, 1919–20. H. T. Montague Bell and H. G. W. Woodward. With map of Mongolia. 762 pp. London: Routledge. 21s. net. 1919. *34*.

China in 1918: Special Anniversary Supplement of *Peking Leader*, Feb. 1919. Edited by M. T. Z. Tyau. 136 pp. London: Sweet. 5s. net. 1919. *35*.

One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems. An Anthology of Chinese Verse from the Second Century B.C. up to Modern Times. Translated by Arthur Waley. 180 pp. New York and London: Luzac. $2.00; 7s. 6d. net. 1918. *36*.

More Translations from the Chinese. A. D. Waley. A Collection ranging from the third Century B.C. to the eleventh Century A.D. 109 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 3s. net. 1919. *37*.

†Proverbs of Szechwan. A. J. Brace. *West China Missionary News*, 1919 (June), 5–17; (July), 18–24. *38*.

Directory of Protestant Missions in China, 1919. Edited by Charles L. Boynton. Separate Map. 50 cents. Shanghai: Kwang Hsüeh Publishing House. $1.30. 1919. *39*.

See review, p. 133.

†What the China Continuation Committee has Done. Bishop L. H. Roots. CR, 1919 (June), 367–80. *40*.

Includes reports of progressive work in co-operation, evangelism, social welfare, education and Christian literature.

Some Aspects of Chinese Life and Thought. 186 pp. Shanghai and Peking: Kwang Hsüeh Publishing House. Mex. $2. 1918. *41*.

Lectures delivered by leading officials and missionaries in China under the auspices of the Peking Language School in the winter of 1917–18. The topics include Chinese art, fiction and religions, problems of education and conservancy and frontier questions. The last lecture deals with the Roman Catholic Church in China.

Progressive Ideals of Christian Work in China. Edited by Frank Rawlinson, D.D. 86 pp. Shanghai: Evans. 1919. *42*.

See review, p. 134.

New Life Currents in China. Mary Ninde Gamewell. 227 pp. New York: Missionary Education Movement. 50 cents. 1919. *43*.

Contains chapters on the coming China, triumphs of western medical science, Chinese leadership in medicine, preventive medicine and health campaigns, economic and industrial changes, Christian education, social transformations and the Church in China.

The Call of the East. F. W. S. O'Neill. Illus. 130 pp. London: J. Clarke. 1s. 6d. net. 1919. *44*.

Vivid sketches from the history of the Irish Presbyterian Mission to Manchuria, 1869–1919.

†China's Economic Problems and Christian Missionary Effort. Julean Arnold. CR, 1919 (Aug.), 514–24. *45*.

China Looking West. F. Hughes-Hallett. London: C.M.S. 1s. net. 1919. *46*.

Written by a C.M.S. missionary.

†Statistics of West China Missions Advisory Board. *West China Missionary News*, 1919 (June). *47*.

†The Exploration and Occupation of the Centres on the Tibetan Marches. With Map. J. Huston Edgar. CR, 1919 (Sept.), 606–13. *48*.

†Deutsche Frauenmission in Hongkong. EMM, 1919 (Sept.), 257–65. *49*.

See also *117* (Preparation of Missionaries); *124* (Evangelistic); *126–8* (Education); *132–3* (Literature); *139–40* (Church); *144* (Church Union); *150–3* (Religion); *167* (Islam); *184* (Religious Liberty).

Malay Archipelago

Unexplored New Guinea. Wilfred N. Beaver. Illus. Maps. 320 pp. London: Seeley, Service. 25s. net. 1919. *50*.

A careful study of Papuan life and customs. The writer was resident magistrate of the western division of British New Guinea. A valuable chapter on religious beliefs and practices of the Kiwai-speaking Papuans is contributed by the lecturer on Sociology in Helsingfors University.

Bij de vermenschen van Nederlandsch Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea. Jos. van de Kolk. 205 blz. Sittard: Indische Missie-Vereeniging. f 1.57. 1919. *51*.

De Zegepraal van het kruis in Nieuw-Guinea op z'n smalst. D. C. A. Bout. 32 blz. Rotterdam: Bredée. f 0.25. 1919. *52*.

†De Geschiedenis der Christelijke Zending onder de Baliërs (1633–1882). C. Lekkerkerker. *Indische Gids*, 1919 (Juli). *53*.

†Java. L. W. Coleman. EW, 1919 (Oct.), 355–67. *54*.

†Zendingsarbeid onder de Chineesen op Java en Madoera. L. Tiemersma. *De Macedoniër*, XXIII, 1919 (7–8), 102–13. *55*.

†Der bataksche Christenbund. J. Spiecker. EMM, 1919 (Aug.), 227–32. *56*.

See also *5–7* (Biography); *135* (Literature); *146–8* (Religion); *169* (Islam); *196–7* (Young People).

Indo-China and Farther India

Indo-China and its Primitive People. Henry Baudesson. Translated by E. Appleby Holt. 328 pp. London: Hutchinson. 16s. net. 1919. *57*.

A review is in preparation.

British India and Ceylon

East India Constitutional Reforms. Lord Southborough's Committee Report. I. (Cmd. 141), 2s. 6d. II. (Cmd. 103), 1s. III. (Cmd. 176), 9d. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1919. *58*.

East India Constitutional Reforms. Letter from the Government of India on Questions raised in the Report (C. 123). Map. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 3s. 6d. net. 1919. *59*.

Government of India Bill. Joint Select Committee. Vol. I. Report and Proceedings (226), 9d. Vol. II. Minutes of Evidence (203), 5s. Vol. III. Appendices (203), 1s. 3d. 1919. *60*.

Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917–19. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing. London: P. S. King. Rs 2; 3s. per volume. Complete set of 13 volumes, Rs 20; £1 10s. *61*.

†The Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917–19. Garfield Williams. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 49–59. *62*.

Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year 1917–18. (H.C. 143), 1919. 2s. 3d. net. 1919. *63*.

India in the Year 1917–18. Parliamentary Report. L. F. Rushbrook Williams. 220 pp. (Cmd. 143). 2s. *64*.

The Future Government of India. Ernest Barker. 91 pp. London: Methuen. 1s. 6d. net. 1919. *65*.

The Linguistic Survey of India and the Census of 1911. Sir George Grierson. 73 pp. Calcutta: Government of India Press. 1s. net. 1919. *66*.

Local Self-Government in Ancient India. Dr Radhakumud Mookerji. xx+230 pp. 12s. 6d. net. 1919. *67*.

A summary of the organization of ancient village life, showing a vigorous system of co-operative administration.

India's Silent Revolution: Dealing with the Agricultural Problem, the British Policy of Education, the Position of Women in India, Home Rule and the Work of the Missionaries. From an American Viewpoint. F. B. Fisher and Gertrude M. Williams. New York: Luzac. *68*.

India's Nation Builders. D. N. Bannerjea. 234 pp. London: Headley. 7s 6d. net. 1919. *69*.

Tales from the Indian Epics. C. A. Kincaid. 130 pp. London: Luzac. 2s. 6d. net. 1919. *70*.

Tales of the Saints of Pandharpur. C. A. Kincaid. 120 pp. Bombay: Milford. R. 1.8. 1919. *71*.

Sadhu Sundar Singh, Called of God. Mrs Arthur Parker. 88 pp. London and Madras: Christian Literature Society for India. 1s. 3d.; 10 annas. 1919. *72*.

An account of the life and work of this Christian *Sanyasi*, based on conversations with himself and many first-hand records. The writer is an L.M.S. missionary at Trivandrum.

†The Religious Outlook in India. G. C. Chatterji. *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1919 (Oct.), 329–41. *73*.

The Appeal of India. J. C. Robbins. Illus. 100 pp. Philadelphia and London: Luzac. 2s. 6d. *74*.

A noteworthy report of visits to the British India mission fields of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, with observations regarding the opportunities and needs in Burma, Assam, Bengal-Orissa and South India.

Letters from India. J. S. H. 88 pp. London: Swarthmore Press. 2s. net. 1919. *75*.

Written in 1918–19 by a young educational missionary who saw to the heart of the Indian situation. Several letters recount the ravages of the influenza epidemic and efforts made to stay it.

†The Bengal Villager. Dr E. Muir. *Conference*, 1919 (August), 47–50. *76*.

A paper read at the Calcutta Missionary Conference.

†The Brahman Schoolboy. A Plea for Sympathy. H. H. Heaton. EW, 1919 (Oct.), 297–307. *77*.

†The Nettur-Tellicherry Christian Co-operative Credit Society, No. 1551. *Young Men of India*, 1919 (July), 413–21. *78*.

A detailed record, with accounts, of the proceedings of a society organized by two rural secretaries of the Y.M.C.A.

A Colloquial Sinhalese Reader. H. S. Perera and Daniel Jones. 39 pp. London: Longmans. 4s. 6d. net. 1919. *79*.

This reader is in phonetic transcription and has a 16-page introduction on the phonetics of Sinhalese.

See also *4* (Biography); *129–31a* (Education); *141–2* (Church and Mission); *143* (Self-government); *144–5* (Church Union); *154–8*, *160* (Religion); *190*, *192* (Young People).

Mohammedan Lands and Work among Moslems

Congrès Français de la Syrie. Séances et Travaux. Fascicule III. Section de l'Enseignement. 187 pp. Fascicule IV. Section de Médecine et d'Hygiène publique. 107 pp. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1919. *80*.

In and About Palestine with Notebook and Camera. A. Forder. Illus. Map. 191 pp. London: R.T.S. 3s. 6d. net. 1919. *81*.

America Save the Near East. A. M. Rihbany. 164 pp. Boston: Beacon Press. $1.00 net. 1918. *82*.

The plea of a well-known Syro-American for 'the American system of government for Syria, together with American protection.'

The Turks in Europe. W. E. D. Allen. With an Introduction by Brig.-Gen. Surtees. Maps. viii+256 pp. London: Murray. 10s. 6d. net. 1919. *83*.

†Deutschland und Armenien, 1914–18. Dr Christ-Socin. EMM, 1919 (July), 179–86. *84*.

See also *8* (Biography); *113* (Encyclopædia); *137–8* (Literature); *160–9* (Religion).

Africa

(*General*)

Africa and the War. B. Brawley. 94 pp. New York: Duffield. $1.00 net. 1918. *85*.

A book setting forth the striking features of the African situation developed by the war and indicating the meaning of this for America.

See also *149* (Religion); *179* (Civilization's Task); *193* (Young People).

West Africa

(*from the Senegal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan*)

The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act. Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. 344 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 15s. net. 1919. *86*

A very important work, describing the working of the Berlin Act in the Congo, showing in detail those points which have proved successful and pointing out where failure has occurred. At the end of the book will be found the complete text of the Berlin Act and a good index. Art. 6 of the Act, which refers to missions, is more especially discussed in chap. xvi, Social Progress.

†Die Basler Missionskirche auf der Goldküste in der Krisis der Gegenwart. W. Oettli. EMM, 1919 (July), 186–94. *87*.

†An Attempt to Conserve the Work of the Basel Mission to the Gold Coast. A. W. Wilkie. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 86–94. *88*.

†The Moral Impact of the Gospel. A Record of Thirty Years' Work among African Women. J. R. Graham. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 95–105. *89*.

†Die Massenbewegungen in Nigeria. Lic. M. Schlunk. AMZ, 1919 (Oct.), 254–8. *90*.

East and Central Africa

(*from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers*)

Croquis du Zambèze. Alfred Casalis. Illus. 343 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. 1919. *91*.

A review is in preparation.

The 'Standard' British East Africa and Uganda Handbook and Directory. London: Sifton, Praed. 12s. net. 1919. *92*.

See also *144* (Church Union).

South Africa

(*south of the Cunene and Zambezi rivers*)

The Rise of South African Colonization and of its Development towards the East from the earliest Times to 1857. G. E. Cory. Vol. III. Illus. Maps. Plans. xii+474 pp. London: Longmans. 25s. 1919. *93*.

Ethnography and Condition of South Africa before a.d. 1505. George McCall Theal, LL.D. 466 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d. net. 1919. *94*.

The Evolution of South African Native Policy. J. Y. Gibson. 67 pp. Pietermaritzburg: Davis. 1919. *95*.

An attempt to state fairly the facts which concern the dealings of White with Black.

†The Colour Problem, South Africa. W. C. Scully. *Edinburgh Review*, 1919 (July), 78–92. *96*.

†The Native Question in South Africa. Amos Burnet. CMR, 1919 (Sept.), 234–42. *97*.

A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages. Sir H. H. Johnston. 815 pp. London: Oxford University Press. 63s. net. 1919. *98*.

A book for the linguistic specialist. To be followed by a second volume containing deductions and analysis of the accumulated material.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES. Alice Werner. 354 pp. London: Luzac. 7s. 6d. 1919. *99*.
Simple and scholarly. Designed to help missionaries and others to acquire a working knowledge of the languages.

America and the West Indies

VOYAGES ON THE YUKON AND ITS TRIBUTARIES. Hudson Stuck, D.D., F.R.G.S. Illus. Maps. xvi+397 pp. London: Werner Laurie. 25s. net. 1919. *100*.
A valuable book, strong not only in description but in studies of the Alaskan Eskimo and Indian tribes. The writer is a well-known missionary.

INTERVENTION IN MEXICO. Samuel Guy Inman. 248 pp. New York: Association Press. $1.50. 1919. *101*.

IN THE WILDS OF SOUTH AMERICA. L. E. Miller. 442 pp. London: Unwin. 21s. net. 1919. *102*.

THE CENTRAL ARAWAKS. William Curtis Farabee. 288+xxxvi pp. Plates and map. Philadelphia: University Museum. *103*.

†EINE INDIANERMISSION IN SÜDAMERIKA IM 18. JAHRHUNDERT. F. Büttner. EMM, 1919 (Aug.), 221–7. *104*.

See also *9* (Biography).

Australasia and Oceania

†'WHITE AUSTRALIA.' The Bishop of Bathurst. EW, 1919 (Oct.), 289–96. *105*.

HANDBOOK OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. Compiled by Percy S. Allen. 286 pp. Sydney: McCarron Stewart; London: Sifton Praed. 10s. 6d. net. 1919. *106*.

The Jews

JEWISH PHILANTHROPY. Boris D. Bogen. xvii+391 pp. London: Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net. 1919. *107*.
An exposition of principles and methods of Jewish social service in the United States, giving not statistics but the ideas of Jewish leaders and the practical experience of carrying them out.

†PALESTINE OF THE FUTURE AND THE HEBREW CHRISTIAN. J. H. Adeney. *Hebrew Alliance Quarterly*, 1919 (July–Oct.), 26–30. *108*.

BREAKING GROUND. Mrs Soman. 14 pp. London: L.J.S. 7d. 1919. *108a*.

See also *170–6* (Religion).

General

UNCONDUCTED WANDERERS. Rosita Forbes. Illus. 211 pp. London: Luzac. 12s. 6d. 1919. *109*.
A lively book of travels in the South Sea Islands, Malaysia, China and Korea.

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES IN ACTION. L. O. Hartman. 62 pp. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 15 cents. 1918. *110*.
Thirteen studies of the foreign missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

A MODERN EXPERIMENT IN APOSTOLIC MISSIONS. A. R. Short. Illus. 94 pp. Bristol: Harris. 2s. 6d. 1919. *111*.
Chapters describing the missionary principles of the Christians known as 'Brethren' and their work in many lands.

AMONG THE LEPERS IN THE FAR EAST. W. M. Danner. Illus. 32 pp. Dublin: 20 Lincoln Place; New York: 158 Fifth Avenue. 3d.; 10 cents. 1919. *111a*.

DAYBREAK. E. E. Perkins. 42 pp. Chicago: Congregational Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior. 25 cents. 1918. *112*.
A missionary pageant of six episodes, in China, India, Turkey and Japan.

See also *2* (Survey); *10–11* (Biography); *15* (Home Propaganda); *131a* (Education); *182* (World Labour).

V. Works of Reference

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ISLAM: A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES. Edited by M. Th. Houtsma and others. Part 24. 385–448. Ibn Hazm—Idjtihad. London: Luzac. 4s. net. 1919. *113*.

See also *39* (Directory of Chinese Missions and Map).

VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

†VOLKSMISSION UND HEIDENMISSION. D. G. Hilbert. EMM, 1919 (Aug.), 209–221. *114*.

†PFLÜGET EIN NEUES! W. Michaelis. EMM, 1919 (Sept.), 249–53. *115*.

VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

THE CANDIDATE AND THE CANDIDATE DEPARTMENT OF A FOREIGN MISSION BOARD. 165 pp. New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel. 2s. 6d. 1919. *116*.
See review, p. 131.

MANUAL OF YOUNG MISSIONARIES TO CHINA. Edited by Arthur H. Smith, D.D. Shanghai: Kwang Hsüeh Publishing House. $1. 1919. *117*.
Contains chapters on the physical, intellectual and spiritual life of the missionary, the study of the Chinese language, relations between missionaries and the Chinese and of missionaries to one another, with appendices on account-keeping, house-keeping and suggestions as to furlough.

GENERAL PHONETICS FOR MISSIONARIES AND STUDENTS OF LANGUAGES. G. Noël-Armfield. Illus. 146 pp. Cambridge: Heffer. 5s. net. 1919. *118*.
This second edition of a valuable handbook first issued in 1915 makes no change in pagination. Improvements in some of the phonetic symbols have been introduced, and a four-page appendix on the 'cardinal' vowels has been added.

QUESTIONS ON THE CUSTOMS, BELIEFS AND LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES. J. G. Frazer. Cambridge: University Press. 3rd Impression. 6d. 1916. *119.*

A set of questions designed for the guidance of those who desire to elicit information from primitive peoples. Invaluable for missionaries.

PAULUS BRIEVEN AAN DE THESSALONICENSEN UIT ZENDINGSOVGPUNT VERKLAARD EN TOEGELICHT. Dr A. M. Brouwer. 188 blz. Rotterdam: Wijt & Zonen. 1919. *120.*

This commentary, written by the Principal of the Dutch Missionary Training College, claims a place as an explanation of the Pauline epistles from a missionary point of view. It is a specimen of the Dutch conception of the preparation of missionaries.

See also *79* (Sinhalese Reader); *98–9* (Bantu Languages).

VIII. Missionary Methods

Evangelistic

EVANGELISTIC WORK. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 33–93. *121.*

EVANGELISTIC WORK OF FEDERATED MISSIONS IN KOREA. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 297–324. *122.*

†THE EVANGELIZATION OF CHINA—A SYMPOSIUM BY CHINESE CHRISTIAN WORKERS. CR, 1919 (July), 443–8. *123.*

Christian Education

Japan

A SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. A. K. Reischauer. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 97–114. *124.*

†A BIBLE COURSE FOR THE CHOSEN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE. Harry A. Rhodes. *Korea Mission Field*, 1919 (Sept.), 186–9. *125.*

See also *31* (University Rules).

China

†CHINA CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION. *Educational Review (China)*, 1919 (July), 213–49. *126.*

Contains minutes, general reports, reports of provincial associations and recommendations.

A LIGHT IN THE LAND OF SINIM. H. N. Noyes. 250 pp. New York: Revell. $1.50 net. 1919. *127.*

The story of True Light Seminary, an American Presbyterian Woman's College in Canton, China.

†PRACTICAL PLANS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURE INTO OUR MIDDLE AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS. T. L. Buck. CR, 1919 (May), 307–19. *128.*

India

†A THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE IN INDIA. G. E. Phillips. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 60–8. *129.*

†RELIGIOUS EDUCATION UNDER NEUTRAL GOVERNMENT. The Bishop of Bombay. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 37–48. *130.*

THE EDUCATIONIST IN THE MISSION FIELD. A. G. Fraser. London: C.M.S. 3d. net. 1919. *131.*

See also *58–62* (Government Reports); *77* (Brahman Schoolboy).

General

EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND MISSIONARY METHODS. Roland Allen. With Introduction by Bishop Gore. 160 pp. London: Robert Scott. 7s. 6d. net. 1919. *131a.*

A review is in preparation.

See also *2* (Survey).

Christian Literature

REVIEW OF LITERATURE. S. H. Wainright. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 125–31. *132.*

†A POLICY FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE. J. Whitsed Dovey. CR, 1919 (July), 473–9. *133.*

†CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN CHINA. J. Darroch. A. L. Warnshuis. CR, 1919 (Sept.), 600–6. *134.*

Short statements on the work of the Tract Societies and the proposals of the China Christian Literature Council.

†CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR MALAYSIA. W. G. Shellabear, D.D. MW, 1919 (Oct.), 379–84. *135.*

†UIT-EN INWENDIGE ZENDING. Dr H. M. van Nes. *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën*, II, 1919 (7), 216–22. *136.*

A survey of missionary literature.

†ANOTHER PLEA FOR LITERATURE IN VERNACULAR ARABIC. Percy Smith. MW, 1919 (Oct.), 351–62. *137.*

†LITERATURE FOR TURKISH MOSLEMS. George F. Herrick. MW, 1919 (Oct.), 375–8. *138.*

IX. The Church in the Mission Field

†THE CHINESE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS. C. Y. Cheng. CR, 1919 (July), 456–60. *139.*

†A SOCIAL AIM FOR A CHINESE CHRISTIAN. Robert E. Chandler. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 106–15. *139a.*

†A CASE OF REAL SELF-SUPPORT. E. J. M. Dickson. CR, 1919 (June), 392–9. *140.*

†CHURCH AND MISSION IN INDIA. John Mackenzie. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 69–80 *141.*

†FOREIGN MISSIONS AND THE INDIAN CHURCH. The Report of an Informal Conference. A. W. Davies. *Young Men of India*, 1919 (Aug.), 468–72. *142.*

For text of findings see p. 30.

†ESSAYS IN SELF-GOVERNMENT. A. F. R. Bird. EW, 1919 (Oct.), 332–8. *143.*

See also *2* (Survey); *29–30, 14 a* (Japan); *87–9* (Gold Coast); *144–5* (Church Union); *184* (Religious Liberty, China).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

†MOVEMENTS TOWARD CHURCH UNION. Text of official Statements. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 137–50. *144*.

†CHURCH UNION IN INDIA. Sherwood Eddy. HF, 1919 (July), 247–58. UNION WITH THE ANGLICAN CHURCH. Bernard Lucas. HF, 1919 (Aug.), 284–99. *145*.

See also a number of articles and letters published in June and onwards in the *Harvest Field*, the *United Church Herald*, the *Christian Patriot* and other Indian periodicals.

ASPECTS OF UNION AND CO-OPERATION IN JAPAN. G. M. Fisher. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 233–41. *145a*.

See also *19* (C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S.); *40* (China Continuation Committee); *134* (Literature).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

†THE EFFECT OF WESTERN RULE ON ANIMISTIC TRIBES. N. Adriani. IRM, 1920 (Jan.), 81–5. *146*.

†MEASA, EENE BIJDRAGE TOT HET DYNAMISME DER BARE'E SPREKENDE TORADJA'S EN ENKELE OMWONENDEVOLKEN. II. Dr Alb. C. Kruyt. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, LXXV, 1919 (1 and 2), 36–133. *147*.

A treatise on the magical influence of the human body.

†GEBRUIKEN BIJ ZWANGERSCHAP EN GEBOORTE OP TALAOET. H. J. Stokking. MNZG, LXIII, 1919 (3), 219–29. *148*.

†THE BASIS OF AFRICAN RELIGION. F. W. H. Migeod. *Journal of the African Society*, 1919 (Oct.), 20–39. *149*.

A thoughtful attempt to explain to Europeans the spiritual outlook of the African. The author considers that the mixture of materialism and spiritualism in the mentality of the negro is somewhat difficult of comprehension to the European, and he applies the three tests of faith, hope and charity.

See also 57 (Indo-China); *89* (Congo); *119* (Questions).

Religions of Japan and Korea

See *27* (National Cult).

Religions of China

†A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION. Arthur Morley. *New China Review*, 1919 (May), 176–208; (July), 262–81; (Aug.), 372–84. *150*.

†THE CONFUCIAN GOD-IDEA. Y. Y. Tsu. CR, 1919 (May), 295–306. *151*.

†SOME CHINESE IDEAS OF GOD. Frank Rawlinson. CR, 1919 (July), 461–8; (Aug.), 545–52; (Sept.), 613–21. *152*.

†DER KONFUZIANISMUS IM ANGRIFF. EMM, 1919 (Sept.), 253–7. *153*.

See also *36–7* (Poetry); *38* (Proverbs); *167* (Islam).

Religions of India

REDEMPTION, HINDU AND CHRISTIAN. Sydney Cave, D.D. xii+263 pp. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. 1919. *154*.

In this volume the Hindu doctrine of emancipation, as taught in the Vedānta, the *Bhagavadgītā*, and the modern bhakti sects, is sympathetically compared with the Christian doctrine of redemption from sin and from the domination of the world.

THE VAIŚESIKA PHILOSOPHY, ACCORDING TO THE DAŚAPADĀRTHA-ŚĀSTRA. Chinese Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes. H. Ui. xii+265 pp. London: Royal Asiatic Society. 7s. 6d. 1917. *155*.

A translation of an old text belonging to the atomic philosophy of Hinduism, with a valuable historical introduction.

THE SERPENT POWER. Arthur Avalon. x+474 pp. and eight coloured plates. London: Luzac. 21s. 1919. *156*.

This is a translation of two Tantrik works, the *Shaṭ-Chakra-Nirūpaṇa* and the *Pādukā-Pañchaka*, with an introduction and a brief commentary. The Introduction is the first full exposition of Sākta Yoga ever published in English.

WAVE OF BLISS, ĀNANDALAHARĪ. Arthur Avalon. 32 pp. London: Luzac. 4s. 1917. *157*.

The text of 41 verses of the Tantrik poem, *Saundaryalaharī*, usually attributed to Śankara, with Introduction, translation and commentary.

†SOME HINDU IMPRESSIONS OF CHRISTIANITY. *Young Men of India*, 1919 (Aug.), 464–7; (Sept.), 515–7. *158*.

See also *70–1* (Epics and Saints); *72* (Sundar Singh); *160* (Ahmadiya Movement).

Buddhism

VASUBANDHU ET YAÇOMITRA, TROISIÈME CHAPITRE DE L'ABHIDHARMAKOÇA, KĀRIKĀ, BHĀSHYA ET VYĀKHYĀ. L. de la Vallée Poussin. xix+369 pp. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 21s. 1914–8. *159*.

The *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu, the most instructive of all Buddhist dogmatic works, is being rendered accessible to modern students by a small group of notable scholars. In this volume Professor Poussin of Ghent reconstructs the original text of the third chapter, and translates it along with its commentary and super-commentary. An introduction and numerous notes help greatly to elucidate the work.

Islam

THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT. H. A. Walter. 185 pp. Calcutta: Association Press. Rs 1.4. London: Milford. 3s. 6d. net. 1918. *160*.

See review, p. 122.

The Teaching of the Qur'ān. With an account of its growth, and a subject index. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, D.D. 136 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 7s. net. 1919. *161.*
See review, p, 125.

†From the Arabian Nights to Spirit. Duncan B. Macdonald, D.D. MW, 1919 (Oct.), 336–48. *162.*

The Life of Mohammad, the Prophet of Allah. E. Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim. Illus. Paris: Paris Book Club. £8 net. *163.*
Eulogistic and non-critical. The illustrations are attractive.

†Christ Superior to Mohammed. E. M. Wherry. MW, 1919 (July), 252–64. *164.*

†Mohammed's Controversy with Jews and Christians. Joseph D. Bryan. MW, 1919 (Oct.), 385–415. *165.*

†Islam, the War and Missions. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. CMR, 1919 (Sept.), 209–25. *166.*

†The Correct Foundation of Religion. Isaac Mason. MW, 1919 (July), 268–91. *167.*
A translation of a Moslem tract printed at Tientsin in 1916.

†The Great Adventure in Khorasan. D. M. Donaldson. MW, 1919 (July), 293–9. *168.*
Showing the strategic position of 'Meshed the Holy.'

†Islam in the Philippine Islands. R. T. McCutchen. MW, 1919 (July), 230–9. *169.*

See also *113* (Encyclopædia).

Judaism

A Commentary on the Bible. A. S. Peake, D.D. xxii+1022 pp. London: Jack. 10s. 6d. net. 1919. *170.*
Contains a section (pp. 618–26) by C. G. Montifiore giving a very useful summary of Jewish religion in the time of our Lord. Naturally it provides some guidance to us in our estimate of the Jewish religion of to-day. For *essentially* they are the same.

The Religion of Israel. George A. Barton, Ph.D., LL.D. 289 pp. New York and London: Macmillan. $2.00; 10s. 6d. net. 1918. *171.*
On lines of extreme Higher Criticism, but valuable as confirming some arguments in familiar use by missionaries to Jews.

History of Zionism, 1600–1918. Vol. II. Nahum Sokolow. With an Introduction by M. Pichon, French Minister of Foreign Affairs. 480 pp. London: Longmans. 21s. net. 1919. *172.*

The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Rendel Harris. 41 pp. London: Longmans. 2s. 6d. net. 1919. *173.*
A popular account of the theories that (*a*) underlying the New Testament is a collection of anti-Judaic proofs taken from the Old, and that (*b*) our Lord was regarded as the Divine Wisdom from the first. Important for the more thoughtful students of the relation of Christianity to Judaism.

What the World owes to the Pharisees. R. Travers Herford. 72 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 1s. net. 1919. *174.*
The preservation of the Jewish nation, with all the blessing that it has been, is and will be to the world.

Past and Present. A Collection of Jewish Essays. Israel Friedlaender. xv+488 pp. Cincinnati: Ark Publishing Company. 1919. *175.*
Students of Zionism would do well to read this.

Jewish Ethical Idealism. F. H. Ridgley. London: Luzac. 1919. *176.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

The Christian Basis of World Democracy. Kenneth Scott Latourette. 206 pp. New York: Association Press. $1.00. 1919. *177.*

†Racial Equality in Migration. Edwyn Bevan. *International Review*, 1919 (Nov.), 242–8. *178.*

†Civilization's Hardest Task. Fulani bin Fulani. *International Review*, 1919 (Oct.), 169–75; (Nov.), 234–41. *179.*

A Survey of Social Conditions in Japan. W. Axling. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 165–72. *180.*

Recent Labor Movements in Japan. G. M. Fisher. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 198–210. *181.*

†Christian Missions and World Labour. Nelson Bitton. *L.M.S. Chronicle*, 1919 (Oct.), 149–52. *182.*

The Individual in the Social Problem. A. Caroline Macdonald. Christian Movement in Japan, 1919, 220–9. *183.*

†Religious Liberty Memorials. George C. Hsü. CR, 1919 (Aug.), 541–5. *184.*

See also *26*, *28* and *30* (Japan); *46* and *139* (China); *58–6*[illegible] (Indian Reforms); *85–6* (Africa and the War); *96–7* (South Africa and Native Questions); *105* ('White Australia'); *111a* (Lepers); *139a* (China); *146* (Malaysia); *166* (Islam).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

Musings on Faith and Practice. Bishop Montgomery. 199 pp. London: Longmans. 3s. 6d. net. 1919. *185.*
Reprinted from the S.P.G. *Mission Field* (1916–8). A parallel volume to the three previously issued entitled *Visions for Missionaries and Others.*

The Secret of the Abiding Presence. Andrew Murray. London: Morgan & Scott. 76 pp. 1s 1918. *186.*
A message to missionaries, based on articles in IRM for April and July 1914.

XIV. New Missionary Magazines

Student Movement Review. Edited by A. A. Paul. Vol. I. No. I. July 1919. 17 pp. Madras: 3 Abrahams Lane, Vepery. Annual Subscription to foreign countries, 3s. *187.*

Issued by the Student Christian Association of India and Ceylon, which is affiliated to the World Student Christian Federation.

XV. Missionary Education Publications

Men and Things. Henry A. Atkinson. 221 pp. New York: Missionary Education Movement. 40 cents net. 1918. *188.*

A twelve-chapter book for young people who would know conditions in the world of work.

Tidings of Great Joy to All People. Th. Graebner. 63 pp. New York: Kaufmann. 25 cents. *189.*

Stories from the mission field.

Shushila. D. S. Batley. 104 pp. London: C.E.Z.M.S. 1s. 3d. net. 1919. *190.*

A modern story of an Indian girl—her childhood, marriage and widowhood. A realistic portrayal of Indian home-life.

O Hana San. Constance C. A. Hutchinson. Illus. 160 pp. London: C.M.S. 2s. net. 1919. *191.*

A story of two Japanese girls of to-day. Attractively written and well illustrated.

Moung Tin, the Story of a Burmese Boy. Mary Chesnier Purser. Illus. 112 pp. London: S.P.G. 2s. net. 1919. *192.*

Kato's Prayer. M. L. H. Guillebaud. Illus. 16 pp. London: C.M.S. 6d. net. *193.*

A play book on Africa for small children.

Chinese Pie. Illus. 60 pp. London: C.M.S. 1s. net. 1919. *194.*

The Court of the King. A Missionary Play. Mary H. Debenham. 8 pp. London: Missionary Literature Supply. 2d. net. 1919. *195.*

Padjangko, een Toradja-boefje. A. M. Schuyt-Mansvelt. 76 blz. Den Haag: Zendingsstudie-Raad. f 0.45. 1919. *196.*

Op Reis met den Zendeling. Vier Zendingsverhalen. Various writers. 81 blz. Den Haag: Zendingsstudie-Raad. f 0.75. 1919. *197.*

See also *14, 44, 177* (Text-book).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JRD = *Journal of Race Development*
MNZG = *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB LTD., EDINBURGH

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

A SURVEY OF THE EFFECT OF THE WAR UPON MISSIONS

CHAPTER VII

MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION

The Growth of Missionary Co-operation

THE hope for coming days which beats at the heart of the Church finds one of its mainsprings in the spirit of co-operation which has survived and strengthened in missions during the war. Notwithstanding the enforced abandonment of many joint undertakings and the lessening of international relationships, the spirit of co-operation has found new means of expression—testimony to this effect from Australia is of special interest—and stands ready to aid the missionary leaders of all nations in the problems which lie before them at the dawn of a troubled peace. It is only possible in this chapter to summarize a small part of the material available on this subject. Readers are referred to two articles in this Review for January 1919—one by Dr J. H. Ritson on 'The Growth of Missionary Co-operation since 1910,' the other by Dr

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When articles in the Review are an expression of the policy or views of the Continuation Committee, or of the conclusions reached by any of its Special Committees, this fact will be made clear. In all other instances the writer of the paper is alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

C. R. Watson on 'Foreign Missionary Co-operation and Unity at the Home Base in America.' Co-operation in Christian education was dealt with in Chapter VI.

International Co-operation

As was noted at the beginning of this Survey, the meetings of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference were tendered impossible by the outbreak of war. But the *International Review of Missions*, which is the official organ of the Continuation Committee, has held ground and maintained its circulation to a remarkable extent. Personal international contacts were never broken and service was rendered from the office of the Continuation Committee as far as circumstances allowed, especially in connexion with passports and passages for missionaries. In June 1918, when international missionary questions calling for co-operative action became urgent, a provisional body called the 'Emergency Committee of Co-operating Missions' was formed on the initiative of the missionary conferences in America and Great Britain. The functions of this committee were defined in Dr Ritson's article in January 1919.

In Great Britain—Conference of Missionary Societies

The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland assumed a new importance during the years of war. Ten additional societies entered into membership between 1914 and 1919, the number at the latter date being forty-six. Twelve new committees were formed in the same period. The budget for co-operative finance recommended by the Conference in 1914 amounted to £1900 and was considerably less in the two following years; in 1919 it rose to £3565, including the British share of international co-operative finance. Separate provision, amounting to an additional £1350, was agreed to, as a contribution to the budgets of the National Missionary Council in India and the China Continuation Committee. The transference of the office from Edinburgh to London in 1918, and the opening of a fund for the purchase of adequate headquarters, have been recorded in Dr Ritson's paper. At the close of the war the Conference established a Missionary Press Bureau and approved a scheme for the publication of a general missionary magazine.

Missions and Governments

The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland has through its executive been able to contribute to the solution of problems and the safeguarding of missionary interests in delicate questions between missions and governments. These have arisen in increasing numbers during the war. It is universally recognized that only in co-operation can the situation be adequately faced. An outstanding illustration of the necessity for such corporate action, and the readiness of the authorities to respond to a united and well-considered approach, was given in an article on 'The British Government and Missionaries of Alien Nationality' in this Review for July 1919.

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America—the twenty-seventh annual meeting of which is in session as these lines are written—has, like the British conference, strengthened its hold during the war. It, too, has rendered service in questions arising between missions and governments and has responded to claims on behalf of missions disrupted by the war. In 1915 the Conference was established in commodious headquarters in New York; in 1917 the Committee of Reference and Counsel, which is the mainspring of the Conference, was incorporated, thereby acquiring power to hold real or personal estate. A secretary to the Committee was appointed in 1918. The work of the Missionary Research Library, the Statistical Bureau, and the Board of Missionary Preparation have been recorded in Dr C. R. Watson's article already referred to. Various important conferences, such as that in November 1917 on 'The Christian Occupation of Africa,' have been held and extensive co-operative work on behalf of needy mission fields in South America has developed.

A new conception of the possibilities which inhere in co-operation has been given by the Interchurch World Movement which took shape in North America at the close of the war. The amazing scale on which the movement is being organized and the significance of the issues arising from it are set forth elsewhere in this number (pages 182–99).

The Interchurch World Movement

Perhaps the most convincing illustration of the uses of organized co-operation on the mission field is afforded by the National Missionary Council of India and the China Continuation Committee. These bodies, which are representative of the missionary forces in their respective countries, have greatly gained in efficiency and influence during the war.

Co-operation on the Mission Field

In India the existence of such responsible inter-society and international bodies as the National Missionary Council and the Representative Councils of Missions in the various provinces has helped towards the solution of many difficult problems, especially in relation to German missions. The Government of India has recognized the National Missionary Council as the body with whom it will officially deal in any questions which arise in regard to missionaries of alien nationality under the new policy adopted after the war. Among other matters which have engaged the attention of the Indian co-operative missionary councils are the evangelistic campaigns; the organization and welfare of the Indian Church; public questions such as marriage laws and temperance; Christian education, including the proposal to introduce a conscience clause; and Christian literature and missionary survey. The wide acceptance among Indian missions of the Statement on Comity which was adopted, after careful and protracted consideration, by the National Missionary Council in 1916, marks a noteworthy advance in the unification of work.

National Missionary Council of India

The policy of appointing full-time central officers is largely responsible for the remarkable development of the work of the China Continuation Committee within the last five years. The close of the war found a strong group of men concentrating on central co-operation: two secretaries—one foreign, one Chinese—for the Continuation Committee itself, a secretary for the National Evangelistic Campaigns, a statistical secretary, a secretary for survey. Whole-time qualified secretaries are likewise appointed to the China Christian Educational Association and the China Medical Missionary Association. A number of special committees have been at work on evangelism, the Chinese Church (including self-support), theological training, survey, work among Moslems, the training of missionaries, religious liberty, moral welfare, various questions of business and efficiency and Christian literature. Two year books, one in Chinese and one in English, have been issued. The Indian Statement on Comity was considered and adopted with certain modifications in 1917.

The China Continuation Committee

The main agency for missionary co-operation in Japan is the Conference of Federated Missions; each issue of its year book—*The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*—is an index to its broadening and deepening activities. The Japan Continuation Committee, the only body composed equally of Japanese and foreigners, has a more restricted sphere than the parallel organizations in India and China. Nevertheless it has done effective service in initiating nation-wide evangelism, surveying social conditions, fostering friendly relations with missions in China and Korea, and, with the Federation of Churches, issuing a year book in Japanese. A general conference of Christian leaders was summoned by the Continuation Committee in October 1919.

Missionary Co-operation in Japan

The advance in comity and co-operation among missions in the Congo State during the last five years was the subject of an article in the Review in July 1919. At the last meeting of the triennial missionary conference in 1918 nine missionary societies representing six nationalities took part. The Conference issues its own periodical, the *Congo Mission News*.

Co-operation in the Congo

Medical Education

Co-operation has proved the key to many problems in the training of native doctors and medical evangelists, a work which lays a heavy financial burden on individual missions. The remarkable development of medical education in China was the subject of an article by Dr T. Cochrane in this Review in January 1918. It is scarcely realized that the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, which by generous use of its financial resources made this advance possible, was only organized in 1915. The Union Medical College in Peking, taken over by the Board and reorganized on lines of the highest scientific efficiency, will serve the ends of many missions. The Rockefeller Foundation is likewise substantially helping the Union Medical School at Tsinanfu (Shantung Christian University), a training centre in which eight missionary societies, three American, four British, and one Norwegian co-operate. Unifying processes are at work in many other medical centres in China. In Korea the Severance Medical College in Seoul, in which six missions co-operate, has advanced both in efficiency and in status with the Government. The opening of a Union Medical School for women at Vellore in South India in 1918 was recorded in a previous chapter.

Public Health

The joint responsibility of missions and of the Christian community for the health and welfare of the population has been receiving increasing recognition. In 1915, at the initiation of the China Medical Missionary Association, a Council of Public Health was created, in conjunction with the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. and later on with the National Medical Association of China, a body founded in 1916. Under the direction of an American and subsequently of a Chinese secretary, public health campaigns, by means of lectures, lantern slides and moving pictures and health exhibits, were organized in many towns and villages, and literature on public health, in the form both of books and pamphlets, was issued. In Japan and in India questions of public health have also received attention.

Co-operation in regard to the work of medical missions has further been advanced by the formation of a British Advisory Board on Medical Missions, and by the revived activities of the sub-committee on medical missions appointed by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

Two Collaborating Committees

Alike in America and Great Britain Christian literature for the mission field has received close attention from an inter-society and international committee between 1914 and 1919. There is a distinct quickening of interest and deepening of conviction on this vital question. This is due in part to the publication in 1915 of a volume entitled *Christian Literature in the Mission Field*, by Dr J. H. Ritson, chairman of the committee just referred to, but still more to the activity of joint committees in the mission field which have been preparing the way for advance. For the first time it has become possible for the home boards and the whole Christian Church to visualize the greatness of the task and to estimate the resources needed if the work is to be done.

Co-operation in Christian Literature

Publicity was given in this Review in April 1919 to the plans put forth in the first year of its existence by the Christian Literature Council in China, a body created by the China Continuation Committee. This bold and comprehensive scheme includes proposals for the development of Chinese Christian literary talent, the survey and correlation of Christian literature in China and the preparation of the most urgently needed publications. A minimum budget of £3000 for the year 1918–19 was prepared by the Council for the home boards, with a further proposal for the establishment of a Missionary Press Bureau for China. The admirable classified survey[1]

Plans to meet China's Need

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[1] *A Classified Index to the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Churches in China.* By he Rev. G. A. Clayton. Published by the China Christian Publishers' Association for the China Continuation Committee. 260 pp. 1918.

of Christian literature in Chinese previously made and published, both in Chinese and in English, afforded a basis for these large demands.

And the Need of India

In India no less careful investigation has been made. Surveys of Christian literature available in Bengali, Burmese, Karen, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Sinhalese, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, and various lesser languages have been made and issued by the Representative Councils of Missions in the various provinces. Based upon these and other sources of information, an inclusive Statement prepared by the Literature Committee of the National Missionary Council and considered at a representative literature conference specially summoned last October, is on the eve of publication. It will be accompanied by a Plan of Advance which has been examined and approved by representatives of the missionary body in India.

Co-ordination of Agencies

Of equal significance is the closer association of publishing bodies and tract and literature societies which has been characteristic of the last five years. The Christian Publishers' Association of China was formed in 1915 to secure 'a united and progressive policy in matters of production, printing, distribution, nomenclature and other matters affecting Christian literature.' In 1918 it was reported at the annual meeting that every large Christian publishing agency in China had joined. A quarterly magazine, *The China Bookman*, has been started for the interchange of information. The All-India Federation of Tract and Book Societies, founded in 1916, now covers the whole of India and Ceylon, with the exception of Burma. Efficiency and economy will be forwarded by common action in the purchase of paper, etc. These co-ordinating agencies are in full collaboration with the China Continuation Committee and the National Missionary Council of India.

The use of the secular press in Japan as an agency for evangelistic work has developed so extensively during the war that a union scheme is now under consideration for the enlargement of the work hitherto successfully done by the mission of the Reformed Church of America, and its administration by several contributory boards.

Newspaper Evangelism in Japan

During the last five years survey has been a frequent precursor to united action both in the mission field and at the home base. Surveys of social conditions, of educational and medical work, of Bible study and prayer literature, of self-support in the Church, of missionary organization and finance, of the distribution of forces, and of other aspects of work or of need within such areas as cities or provinces have been carried out.

Co-operation in Missionary Survey

The term 'survey,' however, more strictly applies to such undertakings as the general survey of India begun by the National Missionary Council early in the war, and that of China, recently inaugurated by the China Continuation Committee. The high promise of the India survey was clouded by the protracted ill-health of the Director, the Rev. W. H. Findlay, and the work was arrested, temporarily at least, by his death in 1919. The immense mass of material collected towards the survey of the Madras Presidency has not yet been made available for use. The general missionary survey of China, aided by experience gained, has started under favourable conditions and with clearly defined aims, and is making satisfactory progress. Reference will be found elsewhere in this number to the survey undertaken by the Interchurch World Movement in America.

General Survey of a Field

G. A. G.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WORK OF THE BIBLE SOCIETIES DURING THE WAR

The relation between the war and the Bible societies may be considered from two aspects—first, from the point of view of the opportunity afforded for the special distribution of copies of the Holy Scriptures, and secondly from the point of view of the influence of the war on the general conditions of Bible work.

I

The effectiveness of Bible work depends so much on the way in which it is done that we can scarcely gauge the influence of the special war distribution without inquiring into the agencies through which it was effected, the methods they adopted, and the extent of their operations.

The Agencies at Work

Within a few days of the outbreak of war in 1914 the British and Foreign Bible Society had made arrangements to provide the Scriptures for combatants, and especially for prisoners, wounded and refugees on the continent of Europe, as well as in England. It already had experience of similar work in the wars of over a hundred years. The National Bible Society of Scotland also mobilized its resources for the same object. The American Bible Society for three years worked chiefly by money grants for war distribution through kindred societies in the areas of the conflict, and then when the United States entered the struggle was suddenly confronted with the great task of providing Testaments for its own troops. The continental societies, including those of France, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland, shared in the work, but for the most part their distribution was local.

Some of the German societies, especially that of Wurtemberg, did a great work in Central Europe, while the Netherlands Society cared not only for Dutch troops called to the colours and interned prisoners of various nationalities in Holland, but also acted as the intermediary between the British and Foreign Bible Society and its agencies in 'enemy' countries. Besides these regularly constituted Bible societies, there were other organizations engaged in publishing and distributing Gospels and leaflets of quotations from the Scriptures which reported issues running into millions of copies.

The Available Machinery

The British and Foreign Bible Society had the unique advantage of holding stocks in Bible Houses of its own in Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Rustchuk, Constantinople, Smyrna and Jerusalem, which were in 'enemy' areas; in Belgrade, Petrograd, Moscow, Ekaterinburg and other Russian and Siberian cities; in Warsaw, Paris, Rome, Athens, Salonica, Port Said; and on the Persian Gulf. It had well-filled storehouses in every country overrun by actual combatants, and practically all were kept open and kept busy throughout the whole period of the war. No government on either side in the conflict deliberately hindered the sending to and fro of stocks of Scriptures. The British Government allowed the two British Bible societies to send even money from month to month into hostile countries to maintain at all events in part their work. The difficulties which did arise—and they were many—were unavoidable in the very nature of the situation created by war conditions.

As the supplies of the Scriptures already in stock at the outbreak of war were exhausted they were rapidly replaced by new editions, which were bound in khaki or navy blue, and for the sick and wounded stamped with a red cross. As a rule the volumes were New Testaments, Gospels or Psalters. The whole Bible was too bulky to find a place in the kit, though the whole Bible, and that with maps, was demanded by thousands of soldiers fighting in Bible lands.

Experience has shown that the most effective results are obtained by avoiding the methods of wholesale and indiscriminate free distribution. It is wise as a general rule to sell the Scriptures and to limit free gifts to cases of known need. The B. & F.B.S. laid down the rule that those who wished to give the books must purchase them, thus putting a check on wasteful methods and careless overlapping. But it encouraged genuine workers by granting a subsidy on Bibles of 25 per cent and on Testaments and portions of 33⅓ per cent from catalogue prices, which were already much below the cost of production. While adhering to this rule the same society undertook to give free of all charge the Scriptures needed by the sick and wounded, the prisoners and interned, and the civilian refugees—whether they were friends or foes and whatever their nationality—provided the distribution was carried out through known individuals or definitely organized channels. The society's friends in the Overseas Dominions provided Testaments free of charge for all who went to serve the mother-country.

The Methods Adopted

Among the agencies through which the books were scattered were the colporteurs, whom the societies had trained and employed in every land, and also chaplains, missionaries, doctors, nurses, Red Cross organizations, war libraries, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Salvation Army, the Church Army, the Soldiers' Christian Association and many other philanthropic and religious institutions. Through these channels the volumes found their way into thousands of hospitals and dressing-stations, into training and detention camps, into prisons and military bases, into trenches and dugouts, into hangars, into minesweepers and submarines, torpedo-boats and destroyers, battleships and merchantmen.

It is an impossible task to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the extent of the distribution. The British and Foreign Bible Society estimating its figures on a conservative basis provided not less than nine million volumes. The

American Bible Society reports seven millions, and the National Bible Society of Scotland five and a quarter millions. But the total issues of the three societies are not twenty-one and a quarter millions. Sometimes one society made a grant of money to a second for war work, and the second purchased copies of the Scriptures from a third, but all three societies—the one paying, the one producing and the one circulating—took full credit for the work done. If an allowance be made for this overlapping in returns, and an addition be made for books issued by other agencies, it seems likely that about twenty-five million volumes were distributed among those directly concerned in the war. This figure, however, is only reached by making 'a guess' and must be regarded as an approximation.

The Extent of the Distribution

It is interesting to note that the Bible societies were called upon to provide the Scriptures in ninety different languages. There was no combatant for whom at least a Gospel was not available in his mother tongue. The names of the languages afford a striking illustration of the variety of religions, peoples and races drawn into the maelstrom of war, and of the width of their distribution over the world. Many of the languages would never have been reduced to writing had they not been conquered by missionary scholars in order to express the deep things of God.

Every Man in his Own Tongue

If it is difficult to estimate the extent of the issues, it is very much more difficult to gauge their influence. The Bible societies are pre-eminently seed growers and seed sowers, but theirs is not the joy of harvest. And yet a volume might easily be filled with instances of the power of a single Gospel to transform an individual life. It is only when we have these instances in mind that we can safely indulge in generalizations on the influence of Bible distribution.

The Influence of the Scriptures

The great majority of the copies circulated are naturally in the languages of Europe. We are more immediately concerned with missions among non-Christian peoples, but the vitality of these missions depends on the spirit of the home base. The human race is one, and the world in which it lives is small. The nations are 'bound in the bundle of life,' and the health of all is wrapped up in the health of each. It is not out of place therefore to record here the issue of many millions of volumes of the Scriptures in English, Welsh, Gaelic, French, Flemish, Dutch, Portuguese, Italian, German, Hungarian and Bohemian. Some of them have doubtless been thrown away, but as a whole the books have been read and re-read, and that by the flower of the manhood of the leading peoples upon earth. They have been read not in the spirit of captious criticism, but by men facing death, seeking truth, hungering for spiritual consolation and strength. 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.'

In Europe and the Near East

Among the languages of the Near East we note Russian, Slavonic, Lithuanian, Ruthenian, Lettish, Esthonian, Finnish, Chuvash, Cheremiss, Mordoff, Votiak, Georgian, Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian (Gheg and Tosk), Turkish, Rumanian, Polish, Slovak, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Armenian, Syriac, Ethiopic and Amharic. What a medley of creeds and interests these languages represent! They cover millions of Mohammedans as well as millions of Christians. They stand for political and racial animosities which have been the despair of statesmen for centuries. Can the renewed reading of the Bible be without effect? Must not even Moslems feel that there is something to meet the deepest yearning of the human heart which Islam cannot offer? Surely those nurtured in the ancient Eastern Churches as they read must reach out for a purer faith, and a higher ethical standard.

Many thousands of various books of the Bible in Hebrew and Yiddish have been placed in the hands of the Jews. It is computed that between 800,000 and 900,000 Jews were among the fighting forces. When it is remembered that ten millions of these people residing in Eastern Europe have found in the war freedom from the synagogue and the ghetto which have been the safeguards of orthodoxy, and have been compelled to make a choice between the fulfilment in Jesus Christ of their own faith, and agnosticism or materialism, we may reasonably hope that some on reaching the crossroads have found the Holy Scriptures to be a lamp unto their feet and a light unto their path.

The Jews

The war brought into the areas of actual struggle men from many of the fields in which Christian missionaries are toiling abroad. Among natives from North Africa, there was a demand for Scriptures in Arabic, and in the Tunisian, Algerian and Mogrebi dialects of Arabic. Soldiers from West Africa were supplied with volumes in Yoruba, Ibo, Mende, Hausa and Jolof, while those from East Africa and Madagascar drew from the editions in Ganda, Swahili, Sukuma, Kikuyu, Ila, Nyanja and Malagasy. South Africa was represented by Zulu, Tswa, Xosa, Chuana, Suto and Pedi. Among troops recruited from Mesopotamia, India and Burma volumes were sold or given in Persian, Pashto, Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, Santali, Assamese and Burmese. Grants were made in Lushai among those who a few years ago were a wild tribe of head hunters in Assam, then untamed and apparently untameable, but in the war acting as ambulance men under fire. Brave South Sea Islanders received the Scriptures in Fiji, Niué, Maori, Tahitian, Samoan, Raratongan, Houailou and Ponérihouen, and Indians from North America asked for them in Swampy Cree, Choctaw, Dakota and Muskoki. Thousands of volumes were put into the hands of Japanese fighting in China. Copies were provided in Tagalog for Philippine soldiers, and in Annamese for labour corps from French Indo-China, numbering over 80,000. The Chinese came in still greater forces, and permits had to be obtained

The Mission Field

from the British Government to ship consignments from Shanghai—Gospels and Testaments—by the ton, in Wenli, Mandarin and the lesser colloquials. Of one great contingent from China it was computed that 10 per cent were able to read.

The Churches in the Field

It is a noteworthy fact that among those who joined the combatant and labour battalions from the mission field, many were members of the Christian Church. Out of the first 500 Santal recruits from the uplands of Bihar 150 were Christians, and out of a corps of Lushai numbering 2000 there were 600 Christians. There were church members from German as well as British and American mission stations in India. In some instances there were whole camps of 500 men composed entirely of Christians. In a New Zealand paper, *The Otago Witness*, we read the following account of a parade of Raratongan troops :

> Steadily they marched, in perfect step, heads up, knee to knee, and with arms swung in regulation style. A sturdy lot, well fed, well trained, and well looked after, proud of their uniform, proud of their officers, and trebly proud of the service to which they belong, they seem to epitomize the influence of the grand old army. As they jauntily tramp past we notice that each dusky hand clasps, not the accustomed rifle, but a book. It is their Bible, for this is church parade.

The officer of a Labour Company in which forty Marathi New Testaments had been given, wrote :

> I may add that during the time the boys were without Bibles, at their evening meeting they used to quote passages from memory, and they were quite good at it too. It was uplifting to me to hear those Marathis, among the remainder of the company who were Mohammedans, singing such hymns as 'I'm not ashamed to own my Lord' and 'Hold the Fort.'

A letter in the *Spectator* of July 14, 1917, stated that 80 per cent of the Basutos and Zulus who served were the product of mission schools.

> They are Christian men ; have their own native padre, and thirty or forty of them knew all about Donald Hankey, and were quite familiar with *A Student in Arms.* There may be white camps where the same may be said of

them, but I have not come across them yet. Your readers may possibly agree that there is something here to set us thinking hard.

Many of these Christians from the Church in the mission field must have had a rude awakening when they witnessed the sights and heard the sounds of the battlefields of 'Christian nations.' Removed far from the simple church life in which they had been nurtured, with comparatively little to build up their faith, and much to shatter it, the moral and spiritual strain on them must have been terrific. *Ignis aurum probat.* To these men in their temptation, in their loneliness, in their peril came the Bible societies with the Word of God in their mother tongue.

Among Heathen and Moslems

Some Sikhs leaving Bombay to embark for Europe were overheard saying, 'Well, we are going to fight the great Sahib's battles, and we know that the great Sahib is praying for victory to his God, so we had better find out all we can about the great Sahib's God.' And they entered the Bombay depôt of the Bible Society and bought Panjabi Scriptures. The spirit of inquiry has been abroad among tens of thousands of heathen and Moslem soldiers, and among them, chiefly by the hands of missionaries they have come to know and to respect as their best friends in strange lands, the seed of the Word has been sown. Some by the wayside, some upon rocky places, some among the thorns, but some in ground made good by sacrificial blood.

Again we put the question 'What has been the influence of the work of the Bible societies?' But we cannot answer it. 'Twenty-five million volumes of the Scriptures.' No bald statistics can express their meaning, their spiritual dynamic. In a snowstorm we watch the flakes gently and aimlessly descending upon the earth—each a few tiny crystals, inappreciable in weight and melting at a touch. But the flakes accumulate, and rolling down the mountain side in mighty avalanches weld into solid ice; and the glaciers grind out the valleys from the hard rock and make the world we live in a place of beauty, and, covering it with soil, fit it to bring forth fruit. Surely these millions of volumes of the Book that is above every book are shaping the course of human history, moulding the lives of men, making them beautiful with the beauty of holiness and fruitful in the fruits of the Spirit.

II

If the Bible societies have influenced the nations in war, the struggle has also reacted on the work of the Bible societies. Having had no opportunity of gathering information from his fellow-workers in other societies, the writer is able to illustrate this aspect of the inter-relationship only from facts and figures relating to his own society.

The Staff

One serious effect of the war has been the loss inflicted on the staff. Every agent superintending the European work of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1914 has either died or been compelled to retire through broken health. Their positions involving missionary enthusiasm, physical endurance, business capacity, and considerable linguistic gifts are extremely difficult to fill. A still graver blow has been inflicted by the loss of many trained colporteurs. For these men, taken from many countries, the struggle meant civil war—they were forced to fight against each other. Practically the whole colportage staff in Central Europe had to resign as the conditions of war prevented London from providing their salaries. The difficulties were naturally greatest wherever actual fighting took place, but it is not too much to say that the staff suffered more or less all over the world, and it will be a long time before the war strain is made good. One of the society's greatest present needs is the need for men of special gifts. 'Pray ye therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest.'

The work which has perhaps suffered least is that of translation. Some distinguished scholars of military age have given their lives in the struggle, and some linguists have been compelled to leave the mission field; when or whether they will return, none can yet say. In spite of these catastrophes—and they are nothing less—versions of the Scriptures have steadily multiplied. During the fifty-one months of the war, the British and Foreign Bible Society alone added thirty-five fresh languages to its long list—an average of one in every seven weeks. Twenty-one of these tongues are spoken in Africa, ten in Asia, two in South America, and two in the South Sea Islands—an achievement calling for thanksgiving to God.

Translation

While translation work has progressed, publication work has only been maintained with difficulty. The obstacles reached their climax in 1918, and they still remain serious. There was a great scarcity of paper, particularly of the fine paper required for editions of the Scriptures. The cost of such paper as was procurable soared until it reached a level six and even seven-fold that of 1914. After the Armistice the prices began to fall, but there was a rise again towards the end of 1919. Bookbinding and other necessary materials advanced in the same proportion, and leathers, especially the finest qualities, could scarcely be obtained at any price. The wages of those engaged in the printing and bookbinding trades have increased from 125 to 150 per cent—the latest advance being in January 1920. The actual shortage of labour and the reduction of working hours, the prevailing unrest and losses through strikes in other trades, have prolonged the time it takes to produce new editions—a fact forgotten by the impatient in distant lands remote from the conflict.

Publication

The war created trouble of a different kind. The society has always held many electros and stereos and printed large editions in Central Europe. The plates could not be sent to England, and funds for printing could not be sent to Germany, Austria and Hungary. Editions could only be struck off out of funds from local sales of existing stock. Further, the limited editions printed were forbidden entrance into some parts of the mission field because they bore an 'enemy' imprint. The society partly overcame the difficulty by making at great expense a number of new sets of 'zincos' by photography from printed pages, in England, and in one way or another succeeded in maintaining necessary supplies even through the darkest days.

Distribution

The problems of distribution cannot be described in a paragraph. They began in the packing-room, where it was not easy to procure packing-cases even at five to six times the pre-war cost, but this was only the beginning of troubles. To secure freightages by land and sea was a perpetual anxiety, and when they were secured the cost was exorbitant, insurance rates were high, delays in transit were frequent and sometimes prolonged for months, circuitous routes had often to be chosen to circumvent impassable barriers, some consignments were torpedoed and lost, and those reaching their destination had to be handled by depleted staffs.

The difficulties of production and hindrances to distribution were overcome. In the six years 1914–1919 including the war period, the total issues were 57,853,643 Bibles, Testaments or portions. Deducting the 9,000,000 volumes representing the extraordinary war distribution, we may say that the ordinary issues reached a total of 48,853,643. But the total issues of the six years 1908–1913 were only 40,513,087 volumes. It is a gratifying fact that apart from war work the ordinary output of the Scriptures increased 20 per cent during the years of suffering.

Finance

The finances of the British and Foreign Bible Society during the past six years have been equally encouraging. A special emergency fund of £36,452 was subscribed to help the society through its difficulties, but in addition to this the ordinary receipts for the years 1914–1919 were nearly a quarter of a million pounds sterling in advance of those for the years 1908–1913. The society has never been in debt, and throughout the war it has sustained its record. But the days of strain are not over. In almost every field there is need for reconstruction, and in some the very foundations must be laid afresh. This is costly work, and in many lands at present the cost is more than doubled by loss on exchange.

Permanent Effects of the War

It is unsafe in these early days of peace-making to forecast the permanent effects of the war on Bible work. One thing however is certain—the cost of production of books will never again come down to the pre-war level. The prices of materials may be less than they are now, but it is not likely that the salaries and wages of the society's staff, and of the employees in the trades involved in publication, will fall. Some part of the burden of this increased cost must be borne by the purchaser. Generally speaking, therefore, Bibles, Testaments and portions in all parts of the world will cost about twice or three times as much to buy. The prices of 'missionary editions' in needy fields cannot however be advanced sufficiently to cover the new losses, without reducing the circulation of the books among the poor. But the Bible societies exist first and foremost to circulate the Scriptures—circulation must be maintained—the supply must equal the demand; there must be no famine. It is obvious then that one of the essential readjustments in the new world situation created by the war, must be the permanent increase of the voluntary income of the Bible societies. Those responsible for their administration look into the future with quiet and unswerving faith, confident that He who creates the hunger and thirst of the human heart will multiply the resources out of which the need may alone be met. 'For He satisfieth the longing soul, and filleth the hungry soul with goodness.'

John H. Ritson

(*To be concluded*)

THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT: ITS POSSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS

By J. H. OLDHAM

America is the only country in the world in which within a single year a movement enlisting the support and effective co-operation of most of the leading denominations in the country could spring into existence and be in active operation with a comprehensive programme designed to reach the whole nation.

At the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in January 1918 a paper was read by Mr James M. Speers, Chairman of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, urging that a united effort should be made to ensure the continuance in the service of the Church of the generosity and the readiness to make sacrifices which had been manifested during the war. This led later in the same year to an invitation being addressed to the home and foreign mission boards of the various denominations in North America by the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States to meet in conference to consider the subject to which Mr Speers' paper had directed attention. The Methodist Episcopal Churches had already achieved remarkable success in their centenary celebrations, in which they had secured promises for the support of their home and foreign missionary and educational enterprises to cover a period of five years, amounting to no less a sum than $167,000,000. As a result of this effort the Foreign Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which had never in its previous history had to dispose of an annual income of $2,000,000, was in a position to begin to make appropriations on the basis of an annual income of $10,000,000. Other bodies in America were engaged in promoting similar forward movements. The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Presbyterian Church proposed that an attempt should be made to unite these efforts. The conference held at its invitation in New York in December 1918 was attended by one hundred and thirty-five representatives, chiefly of the foreign mission boards of North America. The movement in its initiation was an effort to correlate the activities of the home and foreign missionary organizations of the American churches. It was expanded, as will be noted later, to include the other boards, such as those concerned with general and religious education in America, but it retains its character as a movement of co-operation between ' boards ' rather than between the churches through their highest ecclesiastical courts or authorities.

The conference at New York appointed a committee of twenty to prepare a plan which received the approval of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, representing the foreign missionary organizations of the American churches; of the Home Missions Council, representing the home mission boards; of the Council of Church Boards of Education and of other similar organizations, as well as the endorsement of a large number of individual denominational boards. A General Committee was formed, including representatives of the various organizations which had signified their approval of the movement; and the General Committee appointed an executive of twenty-one members. The Committee reported to a conference representing the denominational boards at Cleveland in April 1918, and again to a representative conference at Atlantic City in January 1920, which will be referred to later. But the Executive Committee went ahead and got things done without waiting for the formal approval of its actions by the boards. modifying its policy only when an important board or church took a strong line indicating that its co-operation in the movement would depend on certain conditions being fulfilled. It is no small tribute to the promoters of the undertaking that they should have succeeded both in getting a movement on this scale well under way, and at the same time in securing for it, notwithstanding a considerable measure of criticism, the effective co-operation of the missionary agencies of most of the principal denominations, and the personal participation and service of many of the most influential Christian leaders in the nation. The rapid progress of the movement was due to the fact that it was possible through Mr S. Earl Taylor, its secretary, to transfer the experience and in large part the equipment of the Methodist Centenary effort to the Interchurch World Movement.

The movement expressly disclaims any attempt to promote the organic union of the churches. It recognizes the complete autonomy of the co-operating boards, and it does not assume any administrative responsibilities of its own, the only funds it expends being those required for the organization and the working of the movement itself. The object of the movement is to further the work of evangelization and Christianization at home and abroad by presenting to the Christians of North America a common programme, and by securing increased efficiency, economy and influence in carrying out this programme. All the denominations do a great many things of the same kind, such as holding meetings and conventions, issuing literature, carrying out financial campaigns and making surveys at home and abroad. By doing these things together it is believed there will be a great economy of effort and increased efficiency in the result.

While fundamentally a movement to promote the home and foreign activities of the American churches, the organization, as has already been mentioned, includes the work of the boards which have charge of general education under Christian auspices in the United States; those which deal with religious education through the Sunday school; hospitals and other philanthropic enterprises carried on by the denominations; and the relief and supplementing of ministerial incomes. A general idea of the relative extent of the operations of these different kinds of agencies will be gained from the united budget to which reference will be made later. The combined budget, to meet which an appeal will be made to the Christians of North America, thus includes all the activities of the co-operating denominations which are controlled by a central national body of the denomination, as distinct from the activities and expenditure of the local church or congregation. Besides the activities which have already been mentioned a department has been created for dealing with industrial relations. The functions of this department, however, and the part which it has to play in the movement have not yet been fully determined.

It is not possible to give an exact list of the bodies which are co-operating in the movement, as the final attitude of some denominations is still under consideration, and the movement has developed so rapidly that changes are constantly taking place. In the budget, however, which was submitted to the conference at Atlantic City in January, the list of co-operating bodies included the Northern Baptists, the Congregational churches, the Disciples, the Methodists, Presbyterians (North and South), United Presbyterians, the Reformed churches and more than twenty other smaller bodies. The principal bodies which have not thus far given their support to the movement are, apart from the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, the Episcopalians, and the Southern Baptists. The Canadian churches, while keeping in touch with the movement, have an independent forward movement of their own.

The movement as originally projected proposed to include in the combined programme the work of interdenominational agencies. One or two of the leading denominations, however, declined to participate in the movement if interdenominational organizations were included. This attitude appears to have been taken out of a fear that if such bodies were included, the movement might embark on larger interdenominational enterprises of its own, whereas the only kind of movement to which some of the churches were prepared to give adherence was one which would assume no administrative responsibilities, but merely correlate the activities of the churches themselves. This attitude on the part of some of the churches led, at the initiative of the leaders of the interdenominational agencies themselves, to a decision to confine the movement for the time being to distinctively denominational organizations. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Bible Society, and of other interdenominational societies, is thus not included in the programme and budget of the movement. Even union undertakings which are carried on jointly by two or more of the co-operating boards cannot find a place in the budget except by being included in the budgets of the boards which jointly maintain them. In view of the large amount of work which is already being done at home and abroad by different boards in co-operation, some of the most important missionary enterprises would be in danger of being left out. The difficulty, more especially as a settlement had to be reached within a month, would probably have proved insuperable in any country but America. The American practical instinct, however, was equal to the occasion. The committee of the movement made large appropriations for union undertakings and for various types of work not provided for in the denominational budgets, and asked the co-operating boards to add to their budgets their proportionate share of the money required. As this is the only possible means of providing for work the necessity and importance of which is recognized, it is anticipated that the boards will accept the sums allotted to them and add these to their own budgets.

PROGRAMME AND ACTIVITIES

The means by which the movement proposes to carry out its plans are, first, the preparation of a united budget for the work of the American churches at home and abroad, to be presented to the Christians of North America. This idea of uniting the financial appeals of the different bodies in a single budget seems to have been the governing one in the initiation of the movement. A draft budget drawn up on the basis of the surveys which had been undertaken was presented to the very representative gathering held at Atlantic City in January. It was recognized that, owing to the shortness of time, the surveys on which the budget were based were necessarily very incomplete, and that the figures could give only a very rough idea of the requirements of the co-operating bodies. They are given here because the figures to be included in the final budget are not available. These figures, which will be submitted to and approved by the co-operating boards, will probably differ greatly from those of the draft budget. The figures of the draft budget for all the co-operating denominations, the principal of which have been named above, are as follows :

Foreign Missionary Work . . .	$104,503,909
Home Missionary Work . . .	53,773,756
American Education	84,239,050
American Religious Education . .	2,065,500
American Hospitals and Philanthropy .	21,368,566
American Ministerial Support and Relief .	60,175,326
Total	326,107,837

Owing to the incompleteness of the surveys the budget was in many respects little more than guess-work. It was, however, carefully considered at the Atlantic City Conference by a strong committee, including representatives of the various boards, that is to say, of the men best qualified by knowledge and experience to form a judgment. The budget, so far as the needs of foreign missions are concerned, was further considered at the Annual Conference of Foreign Mission Boards which met at New Haven a week later. The whole budget then underwent the scrutiny of a strong Committee of Review, which met in New York for three days for the purpose and introduced considerable modifications. In this form it was sent to the boards for final sanction of the amounts assigned to each in the combined budget. Only a fortnight was allowed to the boards to give this sanction, so that they were left with little choice but to ratify the sums at which the Committee of Review had arrived. Since, however, the budget was prepared by, or in consultation with, officers of the leading boards, any serious defects would doubtless be detected and rectified at an early stage. So far as the foreign missionary budget is concerned the result of the consideration given to it was to endorse the total figure of $104,000,000 of the draft budget for the current year, but on further examination by the Committee of Review the total was somewhat reduced. The final figures will be determined when the replies of the boards are received, and are not available at the time of writing. As the budget of the foreign mission boards co-operating in the movement has in the past been less than $20,000,000, the budget of the Interchurch World Movement provides for an income four or five times as large as before. A large part of this increase, if it is received, will be needed to meet the increased cost owing to the rise of exchange and higher prices, and to provide much needed material equipment on the various mission fields. The remainder of the enlarged income will be available for new work.

The second element in the programme of the Interchurch World Movement is a united campaign of publicity and education to bring home to the American people their Christian responsibilities. The magnitude of this undertaking will be realized when it is remembered that the local churches which it is desired to reach number 200,000 while the membership of the Protestant bodies is about

25,000,000, and there are over 25,000,000 more whose religious connexions, though not actively maintained, are with the Protestant bodies. Preparatory to the effort to reach this vast community plans are being made to hold conventions of ministers in every State, the expenses of the ministers attending these conventions being met out of the funds of the Interchurch World Movement. The programme also provides for mass meetings in every county and for meetings for laymen, women and special groups.

In the proposed campaign special emphasis will be laid on the principles of stewardship in relation to money, on the appeal for life-service and on intercession as a means of making available the spiritual resources of the Church. Special departments of the movement have been created to see that these various aspects of Christian duty are effectively brought home. Aggressive and widespread evangelism directed to win those outside the Church will be an important part of the campaign. As auxiliaries to the general campaign throughout the country there are departments on Christian literature, maps, charts and music, as well as a department of publicity.

In the third place the campaign of education throughout the country will lead up to a united financial ‘ drive ’ in which the 50,000,000 people who form the constituency of the Protestant churches of North America will be asked community by community to underwrite the united budget for the year ahead, payment of pledges to be made week by week through the usual church channels. The date fixed for the united financial ‘ drive ’ is the last week of April. Something of the organizing ability behind the movement will be realized when it is remembered that this vast nation-wide campaign of education, appeal and financial contribution was submitted for consideration at the Atlantic City Conference in January, and that the authorization of the different boards concerned was secured and the project is being carried through within a period of three and a half months from that date.

Finally, it is intended that the efforts of the Interchurch World Movement should lead to an increasing co-ordination of the activities of the work of the churches both at home and abroad. It is hoped that one result of the campaign will be some form of federation between the churches in each local community for the purpose of common planning and action to meet the spiritual and social needs of the community.

SURVEY

All these activities of the movement have as their basis a survey, having as its aim a discovery of the facts of the situation. This appeared to the promoters of the movement an indispensable preliminary to any public appeal. The aim of the survey was 'to include the whole body of facts relating to the religious life in the area of survey.' Having ascertained these facts the Interchurch World Movement, it was held, would be in a position to set forth clearly and in due proportion the whole task of the evangelical churches of North America. The survey was to be the foundation of the whole movement.

It soon appeared, however, that it was impossible within the limited time available to carry out any thorough or exhaustive study of the facts. The surveys had to be ready for the conference at Atlantic City in January. The real problems of survey were insufficiently realized. In the foreign survey questionnaires were sent to a large number of individual missionaries. Only a comparatively small percentage of replies were received. Even if the percentage had been larger the method was not one calculated to produce results of scientific value. Those responsible for the survey had in the end to fall back on the knowledge and experience of the mission fields available in North America, which was of course considerable. The surveys presented to the conference at Atlantic City were effective statements of some of the main facts relating to each of the principal mission fields, got up in the most attractive style. They served the purpose for which they were intended, but did not contain much fresh material of importance for the scientific study of missionary problems or the formulation of missionary policy.

It is now proposed to carry the survey further. It remains an essential part of the programme of the Interchurch World Movement. But its aims and methods seem to be in need of further definition.

It seems necessary, first, to draw a sharp distinction between the facts required for public appeal and those which are necessary for the determination of missionary policy. The facts needed in the two cases are quite different, and unless the processes of collecting them are kept distinct confusion is likely to result. A scientific survey cannot have a time limit imposed on it or be compelled to produce its results by a given date. The facts which it must include are not all of interest to the general public. Its value must necessarily be impaired if the needs of home propaganda are allowed to influence its processes.

It is doubtful whether the expectation that any survey can reveal 'the whole task of the evangelical churches of North America' can be fulfilled. The task of the Christian Church in the world is an infinite one. As soon as one stage is reached new heights appear beyond. The whole task being infinite, all that can be hoped for is that each generation should set before itself some particular goal more or less arbitrarily determined. The main facts of the world situation are already known. There may be some additional facts needed for a complete view and just estimate of the general situation. But the facts which are really important are not geographical or statistical but historical and social. What is most needed is keen minds which will penetrate to the significance of these facts, most of which are already known, and compel the Christian mind and conscience to apprehend their meaning and respond to their appeal.

When the distinction has been clearly drawn between a survey of the facts needed to bring home its responsibilities to the Home Church and those required for scientific and administrative purposes, the objects of the latter kind of survey need to be carefully defined. It is widely assumed that a world survey of missionary operations is practicable and desirable. But the more this assumption is examined the more questionable it appears. Complete and accurate statistics of missionary operations are greatly to be desired, and much would be gained if general agreement among the various missionary agencies could be reached regarding the statistical information to be obtained, and the form in which it should be secured. This would furnish valuable and necessary data for the student of missions. But to collect all the facts bearing on missionary work is an impossible task. The shelves of the admirably equipped Missionary Research Library in New York could not contain all such facts if they were collected. It being thus obviously impossible to gather all the facts, or even one-hundredth part of them, it is necessary in any survey to select. The first step must be to define the aim of the survey, and the purpose for which the facts are desired. This purpose cannot be stated in general terms, but only in relation to the very different conditions and needs of each mission field and the aims and policies of the mission boards which have to deal with the results of the survey. From the scientific and administrative standpoint, that is to say, there is no such thing as survey in general, but only particular surveys designed to provide the information required for certain specific purposes. It would seem that the proper bodies to determine the purposes for which particular surveys should be undertaken are the committees of the conferences of foreign mission boards in North America and other countries in which all the administrative missionary experience available is represented, and as the surveys must in nearly all cases deal with international interests they can be effectively undertaken only in international co-operation.

POSSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS

Whatever final judgment may be arrived at in regard to the Interchurch World Movement, what it has already accomplished is sufficiently remarkable. The conference at Atlantic City alone was a great achievement. No such representative and weighty conference of leaders of religious work in North America has probably been held before. Those who were present at the conference included Dr John R. Mott, who presided, Professor William Adams Brown of Union Theological Seminary, Professor E. D. Burton of Chicago, Bishop McConnell, Mr John D. Rockefeller, junr., Mr Robert E. Speer, President Thomson of Ohio State University, and others equally prominent in the public life of America. The boards of the various denominations were represented in the most instances by their officers and some influential committee members. The conference thus conveyed a remarkable sense of power. The men who assembled in the room in which the meetings were held were in a position to influence in an exceptional degree the work of the Christian churches in North America and to set powerful forces in motion.

Behind the movement there is a large vision of human need. The men who are promoting it are mastered by a sense that the world is in urgent need and that the only fundamental and final solution of all the great problems now confronting the world is the Christian solution. They are not prepared to be content with what the Church is at present doing. It must be made to see the need more clearly and to put forth more heroic efforts. If they are charged with being too impetuous and overhasty in their methods they may reply that their object is to get something done. They want to lay hold of the forces of idealism which the war has evoked and enlist them in the service of the Christian cause. They are not willing to lose the tide. If others can do things in a better or more thorough fashion, let them show the way. But at any rate let something be done.

Further, the movement has already achieved much in bringing so many denominations closer together. It may claim to be judged not so much by incidental features of the present campaign as by the forces which it has set to work in bringing the leaders of the different denominations together, in teaching them to think in terms of a common programme and in uniting them in a common effort. It is possible that unwise action or denominational rigidity may disrupt the movement. But even if this should take place men have seen an ideal which will remain with them and continue to exert its influence. On the other hand, the co-operation which has already begun may, through wise leadership, become closer and in ways at present unforeseen result in a common effort of Christians in North America to fulfil their responsibilities to America and the world. As one of the wisest and most far-seeing leaders of religious life in America said in conversation, 'No one two years ago could have anticipated such a movement as has sprung into existence and no one can predict what developments may take place in the years ahead.'

On the other hand, as is clearly recognized by the leaders of the undertaking themselves, the movement is beset with many perils and there are numerous problems still to be solved and difficulties to be overcome. There are weaknesses arising inevitably out of the attempt to carry through a vast programme within a very limited time. Certain processes, more especially in regard to spiritual things, cannot be hurried. There are certain kinds of results which in the divine economy can be achieved only by patience and long labour. To ignore this is to court failure. But while mistakes have been made and some of the work done has been superficial there has been a remarkable readiness to recognize mistakes and set them right and an open-mindedness towards suggestion and criticism.

One of the chief dangers in the movement is its tendency to be dominated by the financial objective. The leaders of the movement are alive to this danger, and every effort is made to emphasize other and more important aspects. But it seems inevitable that in the public mind the success or failure of the movement will be judged by the attainment of its financial objective. Moreover, the conditions under which the movement has been launched tend to make success in this matter a primary necessity. The only hope of obtaining the immense sum asked for is to spend millions of dollars in publicity and in preparatory work. Unless there is an adequate financial return for this huge preliminary expenditure the movement is in danger of being discredited. The disastrous consequences of failure are all the greater in view of the method by which the movement is financed. The immense sums needed for the preparatory work are underwritten by the co-operating boards and advanced by the banks. Thus the achievement of the financial aim tends to assume a foremost place.

The prominence given to the financial aim involves considerable risks and dangers in view of the uncertainty of the general financial situation. The remarkable success of the Methodist Centenary effort is not a guarantee that the present appeal will meet with similar success. That effort was made a year ago at a time when everything was booming. It was carried on the crest of the wave. Even if the favourable conditions still persist, which is doubted in some quarters, there is no certainty that they will continue for a period of years. Moreover, the methods employed in a successful financial 'drive' tend to defeat themselves. The public becomes used to the new forms of appeal, and they are apt to lose their efficacy. The test of the Interchurch World Movement will be, not the amount secured in the effort made this year, but the permanent increase over a period of years in the incomes of the mission boards.

A further disadvantage of the prominence given to the financial objective is the misleading impression which it may make on the public mind. The methods of the financial appeal are those which have proved successful in war loans and special war efforts. But the Church of Christ has fundamentally different aims from war loans and even from the Red Cross Society : and certain vital aspects of the Church may be obscured in the public mind if it comes to be thought of primarily as a body engaged in raising large sums of money. On the other hand, the standards of giving among Christian people for the work of the Church are so low that the Interchurch World Movement will have rendered an important service if it establishes new standards in this regard. The sum asked for is large. But when it is compared with expenditure on other objects, even the present figure falls far below what Christian people could give if they really believed in their cause.

Again, if the largely increased income is secured many difficulties will arise in connexion with the spending of it. As has already been pointed out, it is being suggested to the foreign mission boards that they should appeal for a budget four or five times as large as they have at present. An increase of income so sudden is beset with difficulties. It is easier to get the money than to obtain the right kind of personnel, the selection and training of workers being necessarily a slower process. If funds are available there will be a temptation to lower the standard demanded of candidates, whereas conditions in the mission field at the present time are such as to make desirable the raising of the standard. Moreover, large funds can be expended with advantage and without harm only when they are made the instrument for carrying out a carefully thought out policy. But the thinking out of policy, like the training of workers, is a matter which requires time. If a large increase of income is secured it seems to be essential that it should be balanced by largely increased provision both for thinking out missionary policies in relation to the present conditions in the mission field, and for the more thorough training of missionary workers. A lesson may perhaps be learned in this connexion from the policy adopted by large givers to philanthropic causes in recent years, in which pains have been taken, commensurate with the energy and ability with which the money was acquired, to secure its wise and fruitful expenditure. The work, and in particular the preliminary studies, undertaken by such a body as the General Education Board may furnish valuable precedents.

So far as work abroad is concerned, the value of the service which the Interchurch World Movement can render to the world will depend in no small degree on the emphasis which is placed on quality as distinct from quantity. So strong is the national consciousness in the world to-day that the publicity given to the Interchurch World Movement, and the reports of vast sums of American money to be expended in foreign missionary effort, may easily engender suspicion and distrust. The world is not willing to be americanized any more than it is willing to be anglicized or germanized. But if the largely increased resources are employed to make available for other peoples the best America has to give, the world will be eternally grateful. Those who know America know that she has a very rich 'best,' and that best the world not only needs and is ready to take, but—as the streams of visitors and students of many countries to such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee and other high achievements of American Christian philanthropy show—of its own accord comes to seek.

One other large question, still incompletely answered, the Interchurch World Movement will have to deal with sooner or later—the question of what Christianity actually means in the complex world of industrial struggle and international rivalry in which we are living. It is a question which thoughtful men, and especially the younger generation which has passed through the experiences of the war, are everywhere asking. Upon the answer to it much more than upon active propaganda the future of

Christianity in the world depends. That the Interchurch World Movement is alive to the urgency of the question is shown by the appointment of a department on industrial relations. But the functions of the department have not yet been clearly defined, nor does it appear that any clear view on these subjects has, any more than in the Christian Church as a whole, definitely emerged and permeated the thought and activities of the movement. As its propaganda advances, however, it will be more and more forced up against this fundamental problem if it is to win to itself the most serious thought and the best life of the nation.

As has already been stated, the principle was laid down at an early stage that the movement would not undertake to administer or to expend funds for any purpose beyond its own proper administrative expenses. A strong committee appointed at the conference at Atlantic City brought in the following important report on this subject :

> It is further recognized that the Interchurch World Movement is not organized for the purpose of administering missionary or educational enterprises, or for determining the policies of the several denominations, but leaves all such matters in the hands of the churches and the denominational or interdenominational agencies recognized by them. In its surveys it confines its service to ascertaining and portraying the facts, to calling the attention of the churches and their agencies to the needs revealed by these facts and to encouraging the churches, through co-operative effort, to work out the problems involved.
>
> The authority of the movement rests solely in the challenge of the facts it is able to present.
>
> It is therefore recommended that the determination and the initiation of policies for meeting the situations revealed shall be understood to be wholly with the churches and their own regularly constituted agencies.

So long as the sound principles laid down in this statement are adhered to many dangers will be avoided. But there is a constant temptation to pass beyond them, more particularly in two directions. As has already been noted, no sufficiently clear distinction has been made between the facts necessary for the propaganda of the movement and those required for missionary administration, and there is thus a tendency to undertake surveys which trench upon a sphere that belongs more properly to the mission boards and the interdenominational organs which they have created. A second danger of the movement being drawn into the sphere of administration lies in the natural desire of those whose imagination has been captured and enthusiasm aroused by the Interchurch World Movement to promote similar movements in other countries. The attempt to do this, however, by means of special agents would, so far as the mission field is concerned, be something very like the introduction of a fresh missionary agency. It would involve the definite assumption of administrative responsibilities, and might easily give rise to complications which would endanger the steadily growing missionary co-operation which has been so remarkable and successful a development in the mission field in recent years.

It is reassuring, however, that nowhere are these dangers more clearly recognized than by many of the leaders of the movement themselves. Nothing has been said in the preceding paragraphs which does not reflect what was said to the writer by those prominent in the counsels of the movement. The fact that its leaders are fully alive to its dangers and weaknesses and that the movement has already succeeded in avoiding many pitfalls and in overcoming grave difficulties is a solid ground for hoping that it may advance from strength to strength and render to the world a far-reaching Christian service.

Postscript.—The united budget for 1920 as finally approved by the boards is about $155,000,000, or a little less than half the sum proposed in the draft budget given on p. 187. As some of the co-operating boards are appealing for subscriptions to cover a period of five years the total sum which American Christians will be asked to subscribe in the financial campaign in April will be about $350,000,000.

J. H. OLDHAM

THE MUSICAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

By H. A. POPLEY

PART I

'If India is to be Christianized, Christianity must be Indianized,' wrote an Indian Christian recently. Whatever we may think of the form of this statement most of us will agree with the thought behind it. If the teaching of Christ is to make its appeal with power to the heart of India it must link itself on to the cultural heritage of India. The foreignness in Christianity against which so many Indians complain is not in Christ or in His doctrine. He is of the East and His teaching has all the flavour of the East. Life in India helps one to understand the setting and the scenes of the Bible in a way that no commentary could do. Yet Christianity has come to India in a western dress and Christ has been shown clad in the drab garments of the West. The Westerner welcomed Christ as his own, and in the last ten centuries has provided Him with a complete western outfit. So that when he goes back to the East with Him in the nineteenth century he presents Him as a son of the West. As one travels about India to-day and comes upon Christian churches in the towns and villages one seems suddenly to have left India and to have come to an English town and its red-brick church. Inside the church the same impression is made and the service only strengthens it. The West has gone to the East to teach and has not stayed to learn. To-day we are beginning to realize that we need to sit at the feet of our Indian *gurus* and to learn the inner meaning of Indian culture.

India may be largely illiterate, but there is throughout the land a culture which meets us in the most unexpected places. It is quite common to find an illiterate village outcaste repeating many of the finest devotional poems and songs of religious teachers, with a genuine understanding of their meaning. The women of India have an inborn culture which has been remarked upon by critical observers.

It has not been usual for either the western missionary or the Indian Christian to place much emphasis upon this indigenous culture, and too often the western culture which has come with the missionary, and which has found such emphatic expression in boarding schools and other educational institutions, has so dominated the situation that Indian culture has had no chance. In some parts of India to pass from a Christian atmosphere to a typical Hindu one is to enter quite a new world.

The result is that the Indian Christian young man or woman has hardly any real contact with the life around him, and tends to form not only a new caste but a new community. The Christian community is unfortunately a fact of Indian life just as the British community and the Anglo-Indian community are, and this helps to create a deep-seated prejudice against Christianity in the minds of cultured Indians. Probably in Christians of the first generation it would not be easy to find many who do not know who Arjuna was, but when we come to the second and third generation we find they know more of John Wesley than of Arjuna. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata form the basis of Indian culture, and it is a great pity that missions did not make more use of them in their educational systems. I have found that Muhammadans have far more in common with Indian culture than Christians.

Throughout India to-day among the young leaders of Christianity there is a revolt against this tendency to ignore or depreciate Indian culture and a strong desire to link themselves on at every possible point with it. I was present a little while ago at a conference of the National Missionary Society of India at Bangalore in which this question overbore all others. Said one speaker: 'I went to the villages and found that I was not an Indian. Our language, the songs and hymns we use, our mode of worshipping God, all these appear strange to the people.' Another: 'I believe that there is an eastern temperament as distinct from the western temperament. Let a group of Christians learn together the Gospel of John under the guidance of a Hindu and the Bhagavad Gīta under the guidance of a Christian.' One of the reasons why Indian Christians of all the churches have so enthusiastically admired N. V. Tilak and Sadhu Sunder Singh is that they saw in these men true Christianity allied with all the best in Indian culture.

It is often urged in extenuation of this state of things that the Christians themselves show no inclination to launch out upon the sea of Indian culture. True; but who is to blame for the shape of the pot? Is it the clay or the potter? We went to India in the aggressive spirit of western civilization thinking that there was no culture like our own, and refusing to consider the possibility of other cultures being as good as ours. We went only to teach and never tried to learn. To-day, thank God, we are beginning to learn, and there is some hope that in the future we may be able to teach.

I have said so much about the general aspect of the subject because it is fundamental. We must entirely alter our outlook and cease to confound the moral codes of western civilization with the eternal principles of right. We must recognize fully and without reserve that there are cultures equal to ours and perhaps superior. The only safe rule for the missionary to India is the rule of Christ and Paul. 'He became flesh.' 'Greek to the Greek, Jew to the Jew, barbarian to the barbarians.' We must enter into the spirit of Indian culture, and learn to appreciate it before we try to teach anything to India. It has been said again and again by leaders of the Indian Church that India has no use whatever for men and women who will not do this, however brilliant and exceptional they may be.

With this introduction, which will show just where we stand, we must pass to the distinctive aspect of Indian culture to be dealt with in this and a following article. Music is an aspect of culture which belongs to the inner life of a people so deeply and touches the great things of religion at so many points that no missionary can afford to neglect it. Not only so, but it helps to bring two people into contact at a deeper level and in a wider area than any other thing can do. Some study of Indian music has been made by Westerners from the earliest days of our connexion with India, but it is rather unfortunate that very few missionaries have been numbered amongst these students. A bibliography at the end of these articles will give the reader the names of some books available on Indian music. The best of these are the book by Mr Fox Strangways on *The Music of Hindusthan*, and the book by Captain S. Day on *The Music of Southern India*. This latter can, unfortunately, only be seen in libraries, as it is out of print.

The following are some of the ways in which Indian music has been differentiated by eastern and western students from its sister of the West. 'An Indian banquet, with its vast variety of dishes of every taste and savour, is bewildering to the European who enjoys eating one thing at a time with his whole gastric soul concentrated on it. Similarly the European's multiplicity of sounds in music bewilders the Indian who likes to elaborate one particular melody to what seems to the Westerner tedious lengths.' 'One shows a rejection of what is transient, a soberness in gaiety, endurance in sorrow, a search after the spiritual ideals of life. The other shows a vivid insight, an eager quest after wayside beauty and the dexterous touch that turns it to account. The one seems to say, " Life is puzzling, its claims are many, but we will hammer out a solution not by turning away from ugliness but by compelling it to serve the ends of beauty." The other says, " Life is simple and beauty close at hand at every moment wherever we go ; the mistake is in ourselves if we do not train our eyes and ears and hearts to find it." ' 'The world by day is like European music—a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. And the night world is our Indian music—one pure, deep and tender *rāga*. . . . We men of India live in the realm of night ; we are overpowered by the sense of the One and Infinite.'

To come down to earth and to musical facts, Indian music is melody produced by the regulated succession of concordant notes, while western music depends upon harmony arising from the agreeable concord of simultaneous notes. In an Indian melody each note has but one meaning, its meaning to the dominant or *aṁsa*, as it is called, of the *rāga*, or melody-form, which is being played. In western music each note has two meanings, one in its relation to the tonic and the other in its relation to the notes of a particular chord. Then again, Indian melodies are each one of them cast in a particular mood throughout and both time and tune are wrought into one homogeneous whole. No variations are possible within that *rāga* which transgress the spirit or the mood which properly belongs to it. In western music mood is used to articulate the balance of the whole piece. Then, further, in an Indian *rāga* the salient notes are fixed by long tradition and association, and no alteration of such saliency is possible within that *rāga*. Each note has a particular value and not the cluster of notes as we find in the West. The form of the music is supplied by tradition, and the new melody is created from this immutable form by differing arrangements and graces, and it is not possible to create new forms which go outside the *rāga*. Some one has said : 'In Indian music the notes stand out from each other as clearly as do the faces of our friends.' Then we find in the music of India great emphasis upon grace, which is an essential part of the melodic structure and not a mere accidental; a frequent use of microtonal variations and uncommon intervals; and a persistence of the natural as distinct from the tempered scale, which give together that peculiar flavour to this music. The intricate and elaborate time measures, based upon varieties of duration and not upon varieties of accent, stand out as another difference marking off the music of India from that of the West.

The Indian system of music presents one of the most highly developed systems of melody in the world. Like most other things in India it is not easy to trace the historical development. We see it first of all in the *Sāman* chant, the peculiar chant to which the words of the Ṛig Veda were chanted in days long ago. In its first beginnings it comes before us as a tetrachord and then gradually grows into the *saptaka* of seven notes. The *Sāman* singers of to-day claim, though with what degree of accuracy cannot now be said, to sing these chants in exactly the same way as the early Aryan priests before the time of Buddhism.

In the Ṛig Veda we first come in contact with the drum (dundubhi), the flute (vaṁsa) and the vīṇa—the three great Indian instruments all down the centuries, though the flute is not in so much favour now as it used to be. To-day, as in early Aryan and Dravidian days, we find the drum-beat an essential part of the music, taking a much more important place than in the West. The vīṇa seems to have come down through the centuries in very much its present form, and remains to-day the instrument *de luxe* of India.

Throughout the two great epics of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata we see music playing a great part in the life of the people. There are also various references which indicate that a science of music was developing. The same is true of the books of the ancient Dravidians as far as they have come down to us. Many different kinds of drum suited to different occasions are mentioned and a large number of wind and stringed instruments are referred to, showing that the science as well as the practice of music was developing considerably. In the harem of Sugrīva, Lakshmaṇa hears the ravishing strains of the music of the vīṇa and other stringed instruments, accompanied by the faultless singing of accomplished vocalists. Early Tamil literature records a contest between a singer and a vīṇa player, which ends in favour of the latter, who won the singer for his bride. In the plays of Kālidāsa (*c.* A.D. 500) we see the drama aiding in the development of music, and a few centuries later we find it associated with a great popular revival of religion in the Bhakti movements of Saivism and Vaishnavism. 'The temple and the stage were the great schools of Indian music.'

The first detailed exposition of the theory of Indian music is found in the *Nāṭya Śāstra,* ascribed to the sage Bharata and usually dated about the fifth or sixth century of our era. We see here for the first time the intimate relations of the *svaras* (seven tones), the *śrutis* (smaller intervals), the *grāmas* (modes), and the *jātis* (scales). Both Bharata and his great successor Śaraṅgadeva, who wrote the *Sangīta-Ratnākara* about A.D. 1210, have given cause for a great deal of controversy and misunderstanding to the various musical scholars who followed them, and even to-day there is very much that is not at all clear.

It was just about the time of the *Ratnākara* that Jayadeva, the singer of Bengal, wrote the sweet and beautiful *Gīta Govinda,* a series of songs descriptive of the life of Krishṇa, songs which have become part and parcel of the national heritage of Bengal. From the seventh to the twelfth century in the south of India the Āḷwārs and the Aḍiyārs—singer-preachers of the Vaishnavite and Saivite movements—were wandering through the Tamil country pouring forth those beautiful lyrics of the soul's devotion to God which have taken so large a place in the religious life of the south.

In the period of the Muhammadan conquest which succeeded this the music of North India underwent a great transformation. The Muhammadan emperors usually showed themselves lovers of the sweet art and gave every encouragement to Hindu and Persian musicians to develop the music of India. Naturally there was a mingling of the two styles and also a simplification of the elaborate and complex Hindu theories, and the northern or Hindusthani school began its existence in distinction to the southern or Carnatic school. During the time of Akbar, *durbāri* or chamber music was introduced and developed side by side with the music of the temple and the drama. This was the time also of the great singers, Haridās Swāmi and Tān Sen, the favourite of the Emperor Akbar. There was also during this period a considerable development of musical instruments resulting in the production of the sitār, the rabāb and others met with in the north.

Three important works of musical theory according to the southern school were composed at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. These are the *Svaramela Kalānidhi* by Rāma Amāṭya in 1550, the *Rāga Vibodha* by Somanātha, a Brahmin of Rajamandry, and the *Chaturdaṇḍi Prakāśika* of Pandit Venkatamakhi of Tinnevelly, in which the Carnatic theory of music is scientifically worked out with a thoroughness which has ensured these works remaining till the present day the great authorities for the southern school.

Various works were also produced in the northern school but without succeeding in working out a uniform system of either *rāga* or *tāla* (time-measure) acceptable to all the scholars of the north. Northern musical theory still remains in a somewhat chaotic state. In recent years, however, scholars like Mr N. V. Bhatkhande of Bombay and the pandits of the Indian Music Conference, which has now become an annual event, are helping to bring some order into its chaos, and one is hopeful that in the immediate future some generally acceptable system will be produced. This confused musical theory, however, has not prevented the north from developing a musical practice in some ways more beautiful and artistic than that of the south.

Elaboration is not so extravagant and there is less neglect of the voice quality in the north. The north also has a much larger variety of musical instruments, while the south still remains the home of the great masters on the vīṇa.

Perhaps the most important development of recent years has been the establishment of regular musical schools and the organizing of all-India conferences for music through the energy of musical scholars and the liberality of some of the rajahs. As a result of this activity there has now come into existence an all-India Academy of Indian Music with far-reaching aims for its development and systematization. From this short sketch of the history of Indian music readers will understand that there is considerable difference in both theory and practice between the north and the south of India. There are in fact two well-marked schools, the Northern or Hindusthani school and the Southern or Carnatic school. While the fundamental principles of these schools are the same, these are worked out in very different ways in the two schools.

In a short article such as this it is impossible to take the reader into the fascinating realms of the origin of the ancient *grāmas*, the development of the Indian scale-system and its relationship with that of Greece. Those who want to pursue this part of the subject will do well to get Mr Fox Strangways' book and make this journey at their leisure. Readers may be assured that it is well worth doing.

Indian music to-day recognizes the twelve semitones of the octave with a number of microtonal variations in use in different *rāgas* and in grace. The names of the seven *svaras*, as the seven notes of the gamut are called, are the same throughout India, but the names of the semitones vary in the north and south. The twelve semitones of the Indian scale must not be confused with the tempered notes of the piano. The Indian, with some exceptions, has preserved the scale of just or natural intonation.

The basis of Indian melody is the *rāga*. *Rāga* may be defined as a series of notes within the octave which forms the basis of melody and which are differentiated from other similar series by the prominence of certain fixed notes and by the sequence of particular notes. Ananda Coomaraswamy calls it the melody-mould or ground-plan of song. 'The word *rāga*, meaning colouring or passion, suggests to Indian ears the idea of mood; that is to say that, precisely as in ancient Greece, the musical mode has definite *ethos*. It is not the purpose of the song to repeat the confusion of life, but to express and arouse particular passions of body and soul in man and nature.' Thus each *rāga* is associated with particular times of the day or night and often particular seasons of the year, and many curious stories are told in this connexion. The *Dīpak rāga* is supposed to create fire, and a story is still told of a musician who at the royal command sang a song in this *rāga*, taking the precaution to stand in the river Jumna up to his neck in water. It was of no avail, however, for so great was the heat generated that not only was the water made to boil but he himself was burnt to ashes. Another musician singing a night *rāga* in the daytime found an atmosphere of darkness spreading all around him as far as the sound of the music reached. Sir W. Jones, who tried to investigate some of these curious things, was always told that they happened in another part of the country than the one he was in.

Perhaps the term 'melody-form' is the best English equivalent for *rāga*. The whole melody is dominated as to form and colour by the *rāga*. The important note of the *rāga* is called the *aṁsa* or the *vādi*. Every melody composed in a *rāga* must centre around the *aṁsa* of that *rāga*. This *aṁsa* may be any note of the octave. It is sometimes called the *jīva* or 'soul of the *rāga*.' Every *rāga* also has some peculiar phrase which keeps recurring throughout the melody derived from it. Every *rāga* must use at least five notes of the octave, and it is exceptional for any to use more than seven. Some, however, use both a natural and sharp or flat of a particular *svara.*

The classification and nomenclature of the *rāgas* differ very much in the north and south, but limits of space will not allow us to go into this here. Those who want to learn more about these matters are advised to read either the chapters in Mr Fox Strangways' book or to get the handbook which will shortly be published in the 'Heritage of India Series' on the music of India. Both northern and southern music divide the *rāgas* into primary and secondary. The latter are derived from the former. In the south the system is thoroughly scientific and uniform. In the north it is at present in a state of confusion, each musician of importance having his own set of primary *rāgas.*

We give on the opposite page some of the principal *rāgas* in staff notation based on C as the tonic. All Indian *rāgas* have been reduced to the one common tonic, and in this article we have chosen C for that purpose. Students of the history of music in the West will see in some of these *rāgas* the old authentic and plagal modes. *Rāgas* are not scales, as is sometimes thought, but modes. Among the favourite Indian *rāgas* in both north and south we find the different pentatonic *rāgas,* some in a minor and some in a major key. It has been thought that the pentatonic scale is the primitive scale of the East, as we find it in China and Arabia as well. Besides these there are many *rāgas* which omit one or more notes in ascent, descent, or both. It must be clearly understood that these *rāgas* are not themselves melodies or musical compositions but bases upon which the melodies are produced. Thus while the melodies in a particular *rāga* will all have a certain flavour, they may be quite distinct from one another and have clearly marked differences. Each *rāga* also has its own proper time of singing and its own proper occasion. Particular moods are associated with different *rāgas.*

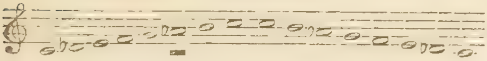
'Musical time is in India, more obviously than elsewhere, a development from the prosody and metres of

SOME INDIAN RĀGAS

(N.B.—The note underlined is the Aṁsa.)

MĀYAMĀLAVAGOULA. BHAIRAV—Northern

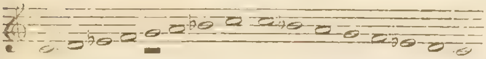
Reverence and fear—Morning.



KHARAHARAPRIYĀ. KĀPHI—Northern

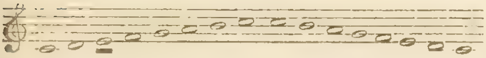
(Dorian Mode—D to D)

Love and passion—Noon.



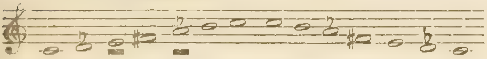
SANKARABHARANAM. BILĀVAL—Northern

Praise—Morning. (Western Major Mode)



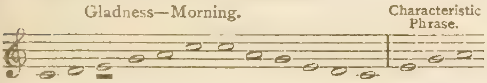
MĀRVĀ. GAMANAPRIYĀ—Southern

Love—Afternoon.



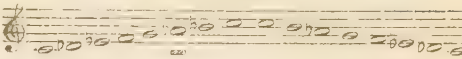
MŌHANAM. BHUPĀLI—Northern

Gladness—Morning.



HANUMATODI. BHAIRAVĪ—Northern

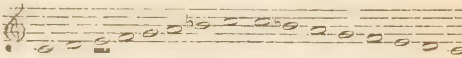
Sad and tender—Morning.



HARIKĀMBŌDHI. KĀMBHŌJĪ—Northern

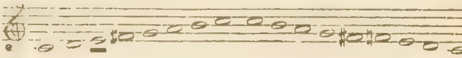
(Plagal Hypolydian Mode)

Prayer and intercession—Evening.



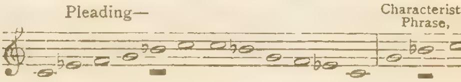
MECHAKALYĀNI. KALYĀN—Northern

Joy—Evening. (Lydian Authentic Mode—F to F)



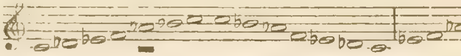
DHANYĀSI. Variety of BHAIRAVI—Northern

Pleading—



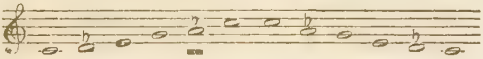
TŌDI. BHAIRAVĪ—Northern

Majesty and power—Morning.



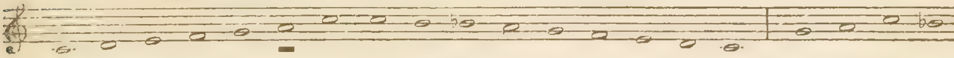
BHIBHĀS. Northern only

Adoration—Morning.



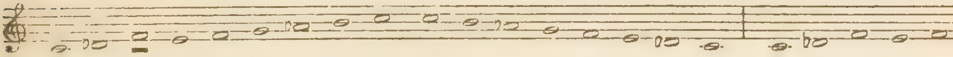
KĀMBŌDHI. KĀMBHŌJI—Northern Also JHINJOTI

Praise—Night.



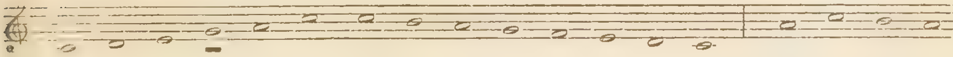
NADANĀMAKRIYĀ. KALINGADĀ—Northern

Solemn devotion—



BILAHARI. No Northern RĀGA

Joy—Early Morning.



N.B.—If the first name be Southern, then the Northern name is placed after, with the term "Northern" after it, and *vice ver*

N.B.—A superscript ♭ or ♯ means a slight flattening or sharpening less than a semitone.

poetry. The insistent demands of language and the idiosyncrasies of highly characteristic verse haunt the music, like a "Presence which is not to be put by."' Indian time-measures are founded upon duration and not on accent. 'In what does the difference between the two systems (Indian and western) consist? It may be answered that theirs is derived from song, ours from the dance or the march. That both are based on the numbers two and three; but that they add and we multiply in order to form combinations of these. But the answer which goes deepest is that their music is in modes of time and that ours changes that mode at will principally by means of harmony. . . . India takes the short note and gives it a certain value as opposed to the long; Europe takes the stressed note and gives it a certain frequency as against the unstressed.' To attempt to write vernacular hymns in India to western hymn tunes is therefore the very height of absurdity and cannot possibly produce anything that is in the slightest degree artistic. Time in India is called *tāla*, and the science of time-measure is very much the same in both the northern and southern system, though the nomenclature varies. It is not possible to go into details here, but any who wish to pursue the subject further should read one of the books previously mentioned. One of the best ways to learn the intricacies of Indian time is to listen quietly to the beats of the drum from the neighbouring village on some still night in India and work out the various rhythms.

The melodies of India are many and varied. Here again nomenclature varies in the north and south. We have the stately *Kīrttanam* or *Drupad,* the pleasant *Krīthi* or *Khyāl,* the pretty *Tumri* or love song of the north, the *Tappā* with its elaborate ornamentation and its sprightly rhythms, the sweet *Ghazal* and the *Kummi,* the nonsense *Tillāna* or *Trivata,* the religious exposition of *Harikathā* or *Kālakshepam* and much more besides. All melody is sung to a drone of some kind. The drone is usually the tonic with perhaps the fifth as well, and may be produced by the tambur, the drone pipe, the drone strings of the vīṇa or other stringed instrument, or by the note of the drum head. Many of these melodic forms both in the north and the south have been utilized for Christian purposes. The *Ghazal* is often heard in the church, and in the south the *Kālakshepam* has been highly developed by Vedanāyagam Śāstriar and many others. One or two of these melodies will be given in the second part of this paper.

So much then for the theory of Indian music. How is this musical heritage related to the Church in India? As we have already seen, all art-culture must have a definite relationship with the work of the Church if Christianity is to become truly indigenous, if it is to appeal to the best in the people and if it is to give expression to the highest in Indian life. It seems to us that the relationship must show itself in three main directions. These are in evangelism, in Christian worship, and in the life-culture of the home. These three will be taken up separately in the next number.

H. A. Popley

INDIAN CHRISTIANITY AND SOME NOTABLE INDIAN CHRISTIANS

By NICOL MACNICOL

Some may deny that there should be any such thing as an Indian Christianity. The Christian faith is a faith that transcends national limitations and within it there should be neither Jew nor Greek, neither East nor West. I do not propose to examine this claim, but if we did so we should probably find that we had at once to affirm and to deny it. For it is certainly true, on the one hand, that the root in every Christian is Christ, and Christ is the Son of Humanity. Neither race nor colour nor education nor national prejudice need separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. In union with that love we are indisseverably one. But, on the other hand, we are what our time and our tradition and the air we breathe have made us. We see with various eyes and through veils of passion and prejudice and secular desire which seem to form part of our very being as men among men. In the case of most of us these things have become bone of our bone, and to attempt to isolate them and expel them from our nature would endanger the life itself within us. We have to accept these facts and govern our relationships accordingly, anxious only to exclude anything in such local and human characteristics that may obscure the light of Christ in us and hinder the attainment of His purpose for the race. We know historically that there was a Greek Christianity and a Latin Christianity, each with its own vision of certain aspects of the whole of truth. The Indian soul may surely in like manner make its own contribution, which we may well believe likely to be one peculiarly precious and profound to that great discovery.

It may, and without doubt it will. But so far there have been few indications of what the special character of that contribution will be. There has been little original theological thinking in the Indian Church. What there has been—if I may perpetrate something like an Irish bull—has been outside of the Church, the application of the Vedantic mind to the interpretation of Scripture. There have been one or two attempts of this kind but they have been too superficial and too remote from the essential spirit of Christ to carry conviction with them. The Gnosticism of the Vedanta has been brought into association with some Gnostic elements in St John's Gospel so as to suggest kinship of idea, but the kinship is more verbal than real. India's philosophy will have to penetrate deeper into Christianity if it is to contribute elements of value to its interpretation.

India has scarcely begun to pass Christian teaching through its own mind, to attempt the task of re-thinking it by its own processes of thought. It has hitherto taken its system of belief from the West, repeating the ancient creeds without question. Its theology has been for the most part an echo of the words of western teachers. That does not mean that it has not represented a genuine conviction or a real experience. But undoubtedly the influence of western religion has given a direction to the spiritual expectations and desires of Indian Christians which tends to produce in them a similar type of religious experience to that of their teachers. Or again they attribute their experience to the same spiritual causes as have been at work in the case of western saints and fit them into the western theoretic scheme. When, for example, they are moved to their soul depths by their vision of the Cross they are content for the most part to accept without scrutiny the traditional theory of the Atonement as its explanation. 'The doctrine,' says Dr

K. C. Chatterjee, 'which decided me to embrace the Christian religion and make a public profession of my faith, was the doctrine of the vicarious death and sufferings of Christ. I found myself a sinner and found in Christ one who had died for my sins—paid the penalty due to my sins. . . . This was the burden of the thought of my heart. Christ has died, and in doing so, paid a debt which man could never pay. This conviction which has grown stronger and stronger with my growth in Christian life and experience has now become a part of my life. . . . "A God all mercy is a God unjust," continues to be my creed to this day.' No one can doubt that these words are deeply felt and sincere. They reveal a large part of the secret of a noble and devoted Christian life. But at the same time no one can doubt that the experience has been poured into a mould presented to Dr Chatterjee by his western teachers. There has been no serious attempt as yet to reinterpret these tumults of the soul in the light of whatever the long experience of the saints of India may have discovered of man and God and destiny.

That is the record on the whole of Indian Christian thought up to the present time. The theology of Baba Padmanji was pure Scottish Presbyterianism, that of Pandita Ramabai is mainly what we may describe as Methodism. The Indian spirit is, as we shall see, richly and beautifully manifest in these and other Indian Christian saints, but it has been poured into western moulds, and these are sometimes ill adapted to do justice to its ardour and its depth. The theology in the case of most has not, as a consequence, the vitality and power that come when the religion and its formulæ are infused with a common life and are the effect of a common creative power in the soul. We find a similar situation in the case of the religious denominations in this country. It requires no argument to prove that they have little depth of root in the soil. They have been accepted and made to fit, however rudely, the purposes of the people's worship and their religious nourishment, but they have not grown up as the natural expression of their devotion and they do not proceed from any deep conviction. I believe this to be true, even if it be the case (though this is not my personal experience) that in some parts of India denominational distinctions are maintained with noisy vehemence. There always will be everywhere those facile fanatics who accept what they are told with a fervour as blind as it is shallow. Such persons do not represent the true mind of a people. The Indian Christian mind has not as yet fashioned either the formulæ of its own theology or the framework of its own Church.

Not yet; but there are distinct signs of a coming change. The interest and the difficulty of the present hour in the case of the Indian Church are due to the fact that she is, as it seems, travailing in birth of what we trust is her true personality. Or, to make use of another metaphor, the waters are deeply troubled; is it by the coming of an angel? That is the question of the hour for us to whom the future of Indian Christianity is of such supreme significance. The awakening of the spirit of nationalism in the land could not leave the Christian community unaffected unless they chose to renounce their Indian inheritance altogether. It is true at the same time that the fact that they are Christians must make a profound difference in their nationalism. The India that is to be must be for them not only a nation but a Church. If they are true to their Christian calling and their Christian hope the building of an Indian Church must be for them a deeper desire than even the desire to build up the Indian nation and they must feel supremely constrained to undertake this task as their own.

This Christian nationalism is a fact of the missionary situation at the present time which no one can have failed to realize and which all who love India must welcome with much thankfulness and hope. The Indian Christian people have at least begun to desire that theirs shall be the architecture of the Indian Church; that their own hands shall lay its foundations and build its high towers. The number of those who feel and express this desire is as yet small, but as they lead more and more will follow and their attitude and spirit in addressing themselves to this task is therefore of very great importance. A heavy responsibility rests upon them at this juncture as well as upon their foreign fellow-workers whose duty it is to co-operate with them and to assist them. The question of the hour is therefore, Whither are these leaders leading the Church? What call have they themselves heard and what response is it likely to receive from the whole body of the Christian people?

It is too early yet to answer these questions with any confidence. That it should be possible to ask them at all is a great source of satisfaction. Let us look at once at some of the obstacles that the eager spirits among these new leaders have come up against and that are proving both a hindrance in the way of the realization of their ambitions and sometimes, in consequence, a cause of disappointment and bitterness on their part, as well as of friction between them and the foreign missionary.

The first of these obstacles is the poverty of the Indian Church. She cannot take her own way and live her own life, because she is so largely financially dependent upon the Churches of other lands. The power of the purse is in the hands of the foreign missionary and without that power the Indian leaders feel themselves helpless. It is not necessary to examine this question more closely in order to realize how this may well be a vexatious hindrance to the accomplishment of ambitions that are not selfish or ignoble. The Indian Christian leaders wish to address themselves to the task of building up their Church, but the implements that they require for the purpose are in the hands of strangers who hesitate, perhaps, to entrust them to them. Hence such a bitter statement as that made recently by an able Indian leader, that the children of

India longed to tend their Mother in her sickness but the foreign missionary thrust them aside and would not allow them near her. How can this difficulty be overcome and a free opportunity be given to India's own sons, unfettered and with the resources that they need at their command, to build the Church that is to be ?

A second hindrance to the self-realization of the Indian Church that some at least of her leaders feel is closely related to the first. This is the downward pull of the mass movements as these pour year by year ignorant multitudes into the Church. The new leaders, eager to discover and to express the real spirit of Indian Christianity and to advance under the guidance of that spirit to new and independent achievement, feel themselves held back by this weight, so immobile and inarticulate. One recent convert from the higher classes, a young man of alert and not unworthy ambitions, when he presently realized his new environment in the Christian Church expressed his disappointment in the words, 'I am buried alive.' It is not my purpose here to criticize these sentiments but simply to take note of them. We can see how much more difficult it is for a Church to attain to self-consciousness and self-respect so long as nine-tenths of its membership is made up of these classes. The fact of the mass movements, full of inspiration as they are and of promise for the future, yet makes that at the same time a somewhat distant future. There must be a long, slow process of transformation before these dumb multitudes find their souls, and meantime the minority that would have the Church live her own life and speak her own thoughts feel their purpose hindered and their hopes disappointed.

The effect of their sense of these obstacles has been to make the attitude of some of the Indian Christian leaders for the present at least critical and somewhat rebellious. They have scarcely begun to undertake any task of positive construction. They feel, I suppose, that they cannot get to close quarters with it because of these hindrances in the way. They see what they dislike and would reject in the foreigners' methods, how some of these tend to denationalize them and to deprive them of their oriental inheritance. They have done little as yet to show how that inheritance may be safely secured for the Indian Church or to open new ways that may appear to them more suitable to an oriental people. One can see how some western evangelistic methods with their impatience and bustle may well fail to appeal to the more meditative spirit of this land. Some of them perhaps feel like the woman in the Scottish Highlands who said to the insistent evangelist, 'My mother has been praying for me for thirty years among the mountains and do you think I can be converted in five minutes?' The spirit that has brooded for millenniums upon the mystery of the universe will not and should not change lightly or easily. Ignorance and contempt can never find the way into the deep, dim places of the Indian soul. Those who are her own kin are likely to be most fitted to speak home to the heart of India.

Some feeling of this kind, to take a single example, was evidently present to the minds of some of the members of the National Missionary Society at their conference held at Bangalore last July. One characteristic of the interesting discussions at that conference was apparently the strong dislike that was expressed by many speakers of methods of western organization. What they sought was something that was most often suggested on the one hand as brotherhood and on the other as the possession of 'the Indian spirit.' Here we have two fruitful suggestions as to the characteristics that a truly indigenous Christian society should possess. It is not yet by any means clear, of course, what these principles would involve. Will the spirit of brotherhood seek to remain within Hinduism? 'The idea of "coming out,"' said one of the Bangalore speakers, 'as the result of changing faith should give place to "going in."' Again, what does 'the Indian spirit' mean? 'I desire to adopt only two methods,' said one of the missionaries of the National Missionary Society. 'I long to have a Christ-like character and I want to have the Indian spirit.' I think it was understood that that spirit must imply more inwardness and more prayer. The value of fasting, too, was emphasized. 'The *asrama* method,' said one, 'emphasizes imitation more than teaching, realization more than revelation.' These thoughts may well be the seeds of a precious harvest yet to come for India, and no one can desire anything better for the Indian Church than that those who met and talked together with such frankness and sincerity at Bangalore will give themselves in faith and devotion to the accomplishment of these desires and dreams.

We can discern the beginnings here of constructive effort and constructive thought. Another indication of the same kind is the formation in Madras of what is called the Christo Samaj, a group of men who meet to exchange ideas and stimulate reflection and effort along such lines of positive advance. These are hopeful signs of a mental unrest, a dissatisfaction with the past, which gives token of the awakening to self-consciousness of the Indian spirit. She is at least stirring in her dogmatic slumber. Perhaps we can judge best of what that awakening may mean in the future, and how full of hope and promise that future is, if we note some of the contributions that are already being made by great individual Christians to the presentation both of the Christian life and the Christian idea.

Let us take first one whom I shall not hesitate to describe as the greatest Indian Christian of this generation. I mean Pandita Ramabai. Her history is, I think, at once an extraordinary revelation of the passion and the impotence of Hinduism, of the depth and riches of the Indian soul and, supremely, of the power of Christ. In the long, toilsome, fruitless pilgrimages of her parents and herself, their sufferings from famine, cold and weariness, borne in the hope of an unseen good, in her mental labours, no less arduous, her study of the gropings after truth of her people's ancient sages, in her devotion and in her learning, Pandita Ramabai was and is the fine flower of India's quest for God. And she is no less so when her seeking has been crowned by finding. The same passion that drove her and her parents, as it drives so many, with hungry hearts across the plains of India—from the frozen sources of the sacred rivers to the hot, fever-haunted swamps of the farthest south—the same passion, no longer now athirst for itself alone but for others whose thirst is not, as hers is, satisfied, glows and burns within her still. The love of Christ constraineth her. If we desire any reassurance as to what the Indian soul is capable of when possessed by Christ, we have but to look at Pandita Ramabai—not mainly at what she has done in her great home at Mukti, much as that has been—but at what she is.

There have always been those in the Christian Church in all lands and in all times whom the vision of the unseen has made blind to the things of time. They have always been in the Church, and they will, we believe, be found especially in days to come within the Indian Church. There will be those who are ready to count the world well lost for the sake of spiritual gain, for whom the things of eternity are so overwhelmingly real that the things of time matter nothing at all. For them men and women are not citizens of a state or members of a nation, but simply souls for whom Christ died. Pandita Ramabai is of that company. She has not been denationalized by any influence from the West. Her desires are set upon other things; her citizenship is in heaven. She is, I think we may say, Indian in every fibre of her being, and none the less so because racial or national or personal claims mean nothing at all to her beside the claims of God and of the things of the spirit. She is 'an apostle, not from men neither through man.' Methodism has, perhaps, influenced her theology, but God and India have made her the great, humble, devoted servant of Christ that, first and last, she is.

'Nationalism' means nothing to her. She is as truly a Hindu as St Paul was a Jew, but St Paul's desire for his people, as far as we can judge, was never for an instant that they might win national independence, and so it is likewise with Pandita Ramabai. She would say, 'My heart's desire and prayer to God for India is that she may be saved.' She has turned away with loathing from the inheritance of Hinduism, whether as a religious system or as a body of legend and tradition. Herself a Sanscrit scholar she would not allow her daughter to learn Sanscrit. To some of us, both Indian Christians and foreigners, as we look at the ancient Hindu philosophic system from outside it appears a wonderful spiritual fabric, woven, like the Taj Mahal, of moonlight and of dreams. But Pandita Ramabai tells us how when she visited the Taj she found that beneath its marble towers there were hid dark dungeons where hideous deeds were done in old days, and she can never forget that this also is true of Hinduism. She remembers the black dungeons beneath it of cruelty and despair. For her Hinduism is quite simply 'the power of darkness' and from it the Christian can obtain nothing good. This is a point of view that is rarer to-day in India than it was, but it will be dangerous for the Indian Church if it is replaced by an easy tolerance and a shallow admiration that ignores what in Hinduism is implacably hostile to truth and righteousness. It is necessary, if Christianity is to retain its purity and its transforming power, that it have within it the Puritan and Protestant spirit which we see in such a Christian as Pandita Ramabai. She and others like her speak out of a deep and tragic experience. Another Indian Christian of a similar spirit, looking down at the little brass gods used as ornaments in a missionary's drawing-room, remarked with quiet seriousness, 'These things always make me think of that text, "Thou shalt not bring the accursed thing into thine house."' 'The accursed thing,'—those who desire, and rightly desire, to have 'the Indian spirit,' to hold by their Indian inheritance, need to remember that that is one aspect of Hinduism. We admire it, perhaps, sometimes because we do not know it and have not felt its dangerous fascination. It will need much wisdom on the part of the Indian nationalist to discern the spirits, to see to it that he separates the precious from the vile in his Indian heritage. He will need to be very careful lest what happened during the renaissance in Europe happens here, and along with the Indian spirit there enters into the Church the pagan spirit and pagan modes of worship and of thought.

Unquestionably Pandita Ramabai, in spite of her attitude to Hinduism, is deeply, beautifully Indian and has brought with her into the Church most precious Indian gifts. Another notable Christian leader, different in many ways from her, who has made a great contribution to the Church of the future, is Narayan Vaman Tilak. As Pandita Ramabai is of the kin of the great *rishis*, the seers, the sages, so Tilak belongs to another company that is no less characteristic of this God-intoxicated people. He was the latest and certainly not one of the least notable of the Indian *bhaktas*, of those who with devotion and with song have sought to enter into fellowship with God. These are not ascetics, nor are they profound thinkers. For them knowledge by itself is, as one of them says, 'a stringless lute.' With 'the measure-rod of love' they 'mete the Infinite.' They believe that *pectus facit theologum* and they follow, through despondency and rapture, the leading of their hearts. Of that gracious company was N. V. Tilak. He was a direct descendant of the line of Manikka Vashakar and Kabir and Tulsi Das and Tukaram. Pandita Ramabai has her affiliation with the *rajarshis*, the royal *rishis*, the statesmen who served their generation for the sake of God and love and duty. Tilak was a *sadhu*, one of those whose thought always is to express their own private souls and their own private needs in passionate poetic utterance and to find solace in the love of a divine companion. His influence is personal but it is not therefore limited in its range. It remains in his songs which will be sung, we may be sure, for generations.

While Mr Tilak's influence is so intensely personal and inward, yet it is true at the same time that it is strongly nationalist, though not in any sectional interpretation of that word. One of the influences that drew him to Christianity was the hope that there he would find a power that could restore his people to strength and self-respect. He was unwearied in impressing upon his fellow-countrymen that every member of the Indian Christian Church is an Indian and that the Christian religion should be a great means of service to Mother India. He did this not only by precept but by example. For one thing he recovered for the Marathi Christian Church pride in their mother tongue. He brought such new life to a language that was becoming more and more debased that, in the words of one of his disciples, 'it was like the breaking forth of spring in its freshness and beauty.' He also recovered for the Church the gift, specially precious in India, of music and of singing, giving them songs that were not foreign echoes, but voices from the deepest places in their own Indian hearts.

But these would have been gifts of little abiding worth had there not been behind them as their source and inspiration a vision that he himself had of God. He was, as I have said, a *bhakta*, but the *bhaktas* before him were seekers and not often finders. He was a seeker too, as every sincere soul in this uncertain world must be, but a seeker resting always in the triumphant ultimate discovery that had been made possible for him through Christ. No one can read anything of Kabir or Tukaram without feeling that out of desolate places they were crying out for Christ, and that this is so, Narayan Vaman Tilak, son of their spirit, is the proof. With him the *bhakti*, the 'loving faith,' that has persisted as a cry of the hungry heart through all the barren centuries in India finds in Christ its hunger satisfied. Here is 'the place of fulfilment of craving' and the cry of desire becomes a song of thanksgiving. For this reason he, I believe, more than any other Indian Christian, has shown the Indian Church the way, and led her in the way, into one rich province of her own inheritance that she can possess in the name of Christ. What union with God means and how it may be realized this Church may well reveal with a new fullness to the world. If we compare the Marathi hymn-book with the hymn-books of the West we shall notice how many more hymns there are in the former on the subject of union and communion with God than in the latter. And for these the Marathi hymn-book is almost entirely indebted to N. V. Tilak. It is not perhaps an accident that the only English hymn by an Indian that has obtained a place in western collections is occupied with this same theme. I refer to Ellen Goreh's hymn beginning:

> In the secret of His presence how my soul delights to hide;
> O how precious are the moments that I spend at Jesus' side!

Thus N. V. Tilak has been a notable pioneer in leading the Indian Church towards a consciousness of her mission and her message. There is no conflict, in spite of surface differences, between what he has done and what Pandita Ramabai is doing. Both are deeply Indian in the roots of their nature and both have come into the Church bringing 'the desirable things' of their people with them. There is a third notable personality who is making a somewhat different but not less significant contribution and who, certainly not less than they, is Indian of the Indians. I refer to Sadhu Sunder Singh. This is a Sikh, thirty years of age, who has won the reverence and affection of Christian India in a fashion that is deeply significant of the longings of her heart. He wears the yellow robe of the Indian ascetic and as such he has put away the claims of home and family. The world can give him nothing that he accounts precious and can take nothing precious from him. But though he has 'put on the shroud' and rejoices in bearing hardness for the love of Christ, he has no ascetic spirit, otherwise he would not win, as he does, the love of high and low, of young and old. All who know him bear witness to the graciousness, the charm, the simplicity of his character. His influence is a purely personal one; it owes nothing to organization or to institutions. At the Bangalore National Missionary Society Conference one speaker said, 'Ramkrishna Paramhamsa drew the world to him without moving from his residence. Sadhu Sunder Singh passed through India like a magnet attracting souls wherever he went. Let the worker learn the lesson that he who sits silently at the feet of his Lord does as much work as he who runs after men preaching till they are tired.'

The Indian Christians of the north and of the south alike have turned to this young man with an eagerness that has in it a deep pathos and significance. They see in him what they aspire to be. He is India's ideal of the disciple of Christ—a barefooted wanderer with love burning in his heart. In him Christ and Hinduism seem to meet and harmonize, and the Christian faith is proved to be no foreign importation but a flower that can blossom into beauty on an Indian stem. It is no hindrance to the reverence that this *sadhu* wins that he bears with him an atmosphere of mystery. Stories are told of the strange deliverances that he experienced in his perilous journeys in Tibet, of visions and revelations. These things cause our cold, sceptical natures to stumble, but India, perhaps, shows a truer conception of the mystery of things and of the reality of the world of spirit when she refuses to be unbelieving. When St Paul came to visions and revelations of the Lord no doubt there were those in Corinth and elsewhere who shrugged their shoulders. When Sadhu Sunder Singh speaks of being in the third heaven and seeing Jesus, shall we refuse to him to-day a capacity for vision of the unseen and for fellowship with his Lord which we admit of another saint nineteen centuries ago? Those who know the *sadhu* well, and who are not sentimentalists, have no doubt at all of his entire sanity and his entire sincerity. There have been things in his experience in the wild country of the Indian frontier and of Tibet which seem to us strange and hard to understand, but these are not the central things in the *sadhu's* life nor have they any place in his testimony. He is a humble, earnest, devoted witness to Christ and to His Gospel, and 'he passes through India like a magnet attracting souls,' not because of the halo of mystery that surrounds him but because, in his quiet dignity and his complete unworldliness he seems to reveal what India may be when Christ obtains complete possession of her heart.

These three great Indian Christians, Pandita Ramabai, Narayan Vaman Tilak and Sadhu Sunder Singh, must reassure the most fearful and unbelieving of observers as to the rich promise that lies hid within the Indian soul. The gold of that land is good. There are many others as well as these who to the watcher of the skies 'pierce the night like stars.' It would be folly to shut one's eyes to the problems that make the future of Christianity in India seem to one at times uncertain and even menacing. There are influences that in the words of one recent Indian critic are 'materializing and proletariatizing' the Indian Church. But there are also in it these and other great men and women of faith upon whom Christ can build and is building His own eternal Church. They shall bear up the pillars of it. The foreign missionary can never take their place and he is foolish and blind if he imagines himself indispensable. When India can produce Christian statesmen like Mr K. T. Paul, men of such powers of inspiration as Dr S. K. Datta, of such wisdom and administrative capacity as Bishop Azariah, there is no reason to tremble for the future. And when to such qualities as these are added the great religious gifts that are the peculiar possession of this sacred land and that, as we have seen, are already so richly manifesting themselves within the Christian Church there is indeed no reason for fears or for forebodings.

NICOL MACNICOL

THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND MISSION IN INDIA

A GROUP STUDY[1]

THE passage of the Indian Reform Bill is a declaration by those in authority that in their judgment Indian national consciousness and capacity have now reached a stage at which the Indian people may assume a considerable measure of independence and responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs. Henceforth Indians are to have a largely increased voice in the government of their country. Now there are two points which are especially raised by this question of self-government ; one, the fact that fitness for self-government largely depends upon character, the other, the bearing of racial antagonisms and relationships upon government. Both points touch closely the functions of the Church. Indeed, it may be said that it is the very purpose of the Church to furnish an example of a society that successfully builds character, and is able to unite men in a bond which can overcome even the power of racial difference.

Does the Church in India to-day supply the State with such a model ? The question does not admit of answer in a single sentence. On the one hand when regard is had to the smallness of the Christian community, numbering just more than one per cent of the population of the country, and to the social stratum from which the Church has been, in the main, recruited, it may be claimed that the results obtained are remarkable and most encouraging. There is nothing in India to compare with the proportion of Indians filling high and responsible office in the Indian Church. Nor is there anywhere such intimate friendship between Indians and English as is to be seen within the Church.

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[1] In connexion with this Review a small group of men and women meet to study the larger problems of missions. From time to time articles embodying the results of their work will be published. This paper is the outcome of two protracted sessions which have been devoted, with the collaboration of several experienced missionaries, to a study of the relation of Church and Mission in India. A second article discussing possible lines of action is in preparation.—ED.

Yet there is to be found in the realm of ecclesiastical relationships a state of things not widely dissimilar to that obtaining in the body politic. There is the same passionate desire for national self-expression. Nationalistic feeling and ideal is at least as strong within as without the Church. There is also the same chafing under foreign control, the same impatience with the rate of devolution of power from English to Indian hands. Many educated and thoughtful Indians feel that they have not yet been given the measure of responsibility and control in missionary and ecclesiastical policy of which they are now capable. The result is a considerable degree of tension.

That this tension exists in many parts of the country will not be questioned by anyone conversant with modern Christian India. How acute it is among the educated classes is known to any professor in a Christian college. Let any mission that would know where it stands in the matter inquire how many graduates have come forward for ordination in its section of the Church during the last ten years. As evidence of the widespread chafing under missionary authority the following statements by responsible leaders in the Indian Christian community may be quoted :[1]

> 'There is a strong and quite widespread feeling among the very best of us that when in this country we are called to the work of the Church, what we are in reality called to is to be helpless, automatic machinery in a policy in the shaping of which we have had no hand.'
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> 'If Christian young men, who are the hope of the Church and the community, show a greater preference to join government service, it is not because they get higher salaries in government service ; it is not the question of pay, it is a question of trust and confidence ; it is a question of placing an

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[1] Mr John Matthai and Mr A. C. Mukerji, quoted by Dr D. J. Fleming in *Devolution in Mission Administration*, pp. 18–9.

Indian brother in the position of a European missionary with equal powers of initiation, organization, direction and control. A young recruit from Europe or America is often placed over the heads of Indians who have turned grey in mission service, who have proved their worth by years of faithful and successful service. Whatever reasons may be given in justification of the system, none of them is considered satisfactory by Indian workers, and to my mind it is a sad sight to see men who have chosen and spent their life's work in a mission advising their own children to choose secular professions and interests.'

Failure at this point is critical. The fundamental aim of Christian missions in India is the development of an indigenous Christianity which shall propagate itself throughout the country. To say this is not to exclude from the proper scope of missionary energy the establishment of colleges or hospitals or other institutions whose influence permeates society but is not always directly ancillary to the building of the Church. It is however to insist that such departments of mission work should be so developed that ultimately they can be made part of the life of the Church, and that the policy by which they are controlled shall have due regard to the strengthening and aiding of the Church. Missions exist in order to see themselves supplanted by an independent and vigorous Indian Church. And it is only through a Church which is truly indigenous in character and which expresses and propagates itself in genuinely Indian ways, that Christianity can make its strong appeal to the people of India. Moreover a Church which fails to exhibit among its members a brotherhood that rises superior to all barriers of race or class is failing in that which is an essential element of Christianity.

The extent to which Christian missions are alive to the difficulty is evident from the prominence which has been given to the subject in recent years at missionary conferences and from the unquestionable progress that has in many places been made in transferring the direction of missionary policy from the foreign organization to the Indian Church. Remarkable indications of this are quoted by Bishop Azariah in a recent issue[1] of the *Christian Patriot* of Madras. There are important missions which have handed over the control of all their work, save only the domestic and personal concerns of their missionaries, to ecclesiastical bodies that are either predominantly Indian in character or whose constitutions take no account of racial distinctions. It is becoming increasingly common for Indians to take their place on equal terms in the bodies that control mission policy, and to fill the posts of highest responsibility in the mission, whether it be the principalship of a divinity school or a university college, or the superintendence of a large mission district. The degree to which this process has been carried, at least in some areas, is not perhaps fully appreciated by the extreme Indian critics of missionary work.

It is clear, however, that in spite of all that has been done there remains a great and urgent problem to be solved. In certain even of those sections of the Indian Church where most progress has been made, foreign influence is still so weighty that it would probably be to a European that one would address oneself if one wished actually to carry through any matter of the first importance. Unless educated Indian opinion is to drift into a position of antipathetic aloofness from the mission and all its works, some forward move is essential. And it must be of such a character as to convince the educated Christian community that a serious effort is being made to solve the problem. If any real move, however, is to be successful, it is necessary first to arrive at as clear an understanding as possible of the main factors in the problem.

I. THE INDIAN CHURCH

The first fact to be carefully noted is that there is here not one problem to be solved, but many problems. There are great differences in the education of the Christian community, in the experience of its leaders and in their capacity to shoulder large responsibilities. Nor will the comparatively simple method of variation of treatment according to geographical area be an adequate solution. Few areas will discover a Christian community that is homogeneous in character. Christians at almost every stage of development will be found in each area. At one end we have churches drawn from the depressed classes among whom education is still backward. Indeed numerically this is the origin of by far the largest part of the Indian Church. They are not long removed from the state of the outcaste and they are in the main illiterate. To expect such communities to bear large responsibilities until they have wider knowledge and experience is to contravene the laws of human growth. They are, moreover, largely out of touch with the great agricultural and industrial caste population inhabiting the villages who form the backbone of the real Hindu India. Upon this India missionary effort has as yet made hardly any measurable impact. At the other end there are educated Indians whose capacity is equal to that of the ablest foreign missionaries. Their claim to have a voice that counts in the control of missionary policy is fully justified. They feel that India is their country, and can only be won for Christ through Indian witness and agency. The missionary can suggest, but unless everything is to be mechanical it must be, it ought now to be, the Indian who decides how best the work is to be done.

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[1] Oct. 25, 1919.

If we are to form a just idea of the Indian Christian attitude to this subject we are considering, it is necessary to distinguish at least three principal tendencies of thought. In the first place, a considerable body of educated Indian opinion favours the early transfer of activities at present carried on and controlled by foreign missionaries to Indian hands. This view is forcibly expressed in the series of resolutions recently adopted by a conference at Allahabad of some leading Indian Christians of the younger generation in North India with a group of missionaries.[1]

Another more radical group feels that this in itself would be inadequate. They feel impelled to question the whole system of organized Christianity which has been introduced. To them it appears a foreign creation. They are opposed to what they regard as the present over-organization of the Church, and believe that India cannot give her best to the world while she is wearing Saul's armour.

Thirdly, everywhere there are to be found in considerable force Indian Christians who appear to shrink from assuming responsibility and to desire that control should continue to remain largely in foreign hands, as at present. Partly this is due to inertia and that passivity under governance which has characterized so much of Indian life. Partly it is due to lack of education and of training for responsibility. Partly it springs from dread of caste tyranny, in view of past history and present fact, and from a sense of powerlessness apart from European championship. Often it is prompted by reasoned appreciation of the strength and sanity of European leadership. Sometimes it arises from fear that denominational or sectarian tenets, as yet insecure, may go under if the decision be left exclusively to Indian suffrage. Very widely it is fostered by anxiety lest diminution of foreign control should result in a decrease of foreign funds.

II. The Mission

A recent work on missionary policy opens with these words : ' What in the economic realm has led to the organization of men for industry and business, has in the realm of evangelization led to the formation of strong, aggressive bodies of superintendents called " Missions." These by the use of western funds have employed large numbers of local agents in a way that to the growing indigenous Church seems almost like an exploiting of their country for Christ.'[1] The statement may lack somewhat in sympathy and balance; but it may yet be asked how a state of things which could even be parodied in such terms ever came to be. The answer is not far to seek. In the early beginnings of missionary work it was inevitable that the direction of policy should be in missionary hands. Suppose the first missionary landing in an unevangelized country. Until a Christian community has been formed there is no Church to undertake the work of evangelization. If it is to be done at all, he must superintend its doing. Moreover he will naturally be anxious to give to the people among whom he works the best he can. This means, especially in those regions where government provision for medical or educational needs is small or non-existent, the creation of schools and hospitals, costly institutions, for whose support he can at this stage only look to the home base, especially if his work be among a backward community. Partly as a result of the rapid advances made of recent years in both educational and medical method and equipment, this dependence upon foreign funds still obtains. Another contributory cause was the desire to obtain for the body of the converts, whom outcasting often rendered financially dependent on external help, as large a number as possible of preachers of the new religion. Much of this was inevitable; but account has also to be taken of the tendency to transplant to another soil the institutions and methods with which the missionaries were familiar at home. In this way there came to be imposed on the growing Church a good deal of organization which was western and not indigenous in character, and the 'mission' came to be organized as a controlling body apart from the Indian Church.

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[1] These resolutions were published in IRM, 1920 (Jan.), pp. 30–1.

Even when, as in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the 'mission' was not separately organized, foreign control of the more important activities was maintained by finance committees composed mainly or entirely of missionaries, the dependence of the Church on whom was in some cases tightened by the fact that the individual missionary was personally responsible for raising a large part of the funds necessary to the maintenance of the work. '*Cherchez la bourse*' will almost always lead one to the seat of real power in mission administration. Even societies which have been most emphatic in the assertion of the theory of the independence of native Churches have found in the power of the purse a sure device by which to guard infant Churches from lapses or novel experiment. Witness the following minute of a home board:[1]

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[1] Fleming, *op. cit.* p. 15.

> In no case should there be any ecclesiastical control exercised by missionaries over the native Churches and ministers, save that which may grow out of the action of bodies composed of both elements. A wise disbursement of funds will provide all the checks which are necessary or proper.

The mission, once organized, has tended to persist through the inertia which is common to all human effort.

The experience of many years has served to clear the true objective of missionary strategy of much of the obscurity which inevitably surrounded it in the days of the earlier pioneers. Yet we still have missions with whom 'the controlling thought seems to be efficiency in evangelism rather than any theoretical obligation to raise up an indigenous, independent, virile Church which shall itself assume primal responsibility for the conversion of its people.'[2] 'The impression left on one by a perusal of their literature is that they are dominated by the desire for efficiency in evangelism; that since the West financially simply cannot face the task, self-support is necessary; and since no reasonable increase of missionaries would meet the need, Indians must take up the work of spreading the Gospel to their own people. Indians in some cases are more efficient and in all cases are cheaper than foreign missionaries, therefore work and authority should be placed in their hands.'[1] 'If evangelization of the whole field is the purpose then the Church is organized as a means, and devolution is a mere matter of adjustment. But if the goal is the establishment of self-reliant efficient independent Churches then the devolution of powers and responsibilities to this growing Church becomes, in fact, the controlling consideration.'[2] For lack of a clear grip of the educational principle implied in the last quotation, the missionary has often been prevented by the immaturity of his converts from proceeding to fresh territory. Failure to pass on is often attributed to the racial weakness or lack of initiative of the native Church. But 'we fail to observe that as heathen our converts had in nearly every case some religious life which they did maintain without any external assistance ; it was only when they became Christians that they lost that power to maintain their own religious life.'[3] 'It may be true of some that they belong to nations tainted with hereditary weakness,' but it can hardly be true of all the races we evangelize. 'If all the pupils in a school fail at the same point, we begin to question the capacity of the master.'[4]

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[1] The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1856, quoted by Fleming, *op. cit.* p. 108.

[2] Fleming, *op. cit.* p. 162.

The retention of control in the hands of the mission has also been fostered by the activity of the western temperament, and our passion for 'efficiency' : by which we generally mean, getting things done. But the primary aim of a mission is not so much to get things done as to help things to grow. We find it almost impossibly difficult to stand by and watch while others are learning by the experience of their own mistakes. The passivity and yieldingness of the Indian character have come in to reinforce our innate tendencies to direction and masterfulness. Our practical instinct for tangible results tends to obscure for us the fact that our chief function in India is educational. It escapes our notice that we may get the conversions we aim at more rapidly by the education and inspiration of the

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[1], [2] Fleming, *op. cit.* pp. 162, 271.

[3], [4] Roland Allen in *Educational Principles and Missionary Methods*, pp. 8, 9.

Indian Church than by the concentration of all our energies on a frontal attack.

The educative purpose of all missionary work has not sufficiently dominated mission policy. It is difficult, if not impossible, for a Church at some given moment to assume complete responsibility for the evangelization of the nation to which it belongs unless there has been thrown upon it stage by stage from the earliest moment of its existence responsibility for all the evangelization of which it was then capable. Once the Church exists in any locality, the duty of evangelization in that neighbourhood passes from the missionary to the Church. Thenceforward the missionary's supreme purpose is, not even the addition of fresh converts, but such education and inspiration of the infant Church as shall help it to maturity and set the missionary free to pass on to the regions beyond. Uncertain hold upon this principle can be detected in not a few of our educational institutions. The Christian influences in college and school tend in some areas to concentrate on the effort to win over non-Christians rather than on the development and maturity of the Christian pupils, whose devotional life and needs often fail to receive the special provision and close fostering care they require.

Another most potent factor making for the domination of the foreigner in all mission work has been the fact that a large part of the funds used in the evangelization of India is contributed from foreign sources. It has been generally assumed that so long as this is so, the administration of these funds must remain in the hands of the foreign organization which is directly responsible to the home constituency. It will readily be seen how powerful a hold this fact and this assumption have given the foreign mission over missionary policy and even over the Indian Church.

The resultant control of missionary policy by the foreign organization, as distinct from the Indian Church, has had unfortunate effects in many directions.

In the first place, the missionary has tended to become the ruler rather than the servant of the Indian Church. In his own sphere he is master, untrammelled by Indian control. He is further the paymaster of many of his Indian fellow-workers, who thus become subordinates instead of colleagues. This position of domination and subservience is reinforced on both sides by the fact that in the political sphere the two races stand almost always in the relation of rulers and ruled. It is difficult for the missionary to be true to type when he stands in any other relation than that of servant to the people whom he would win to God. ‘I am among you as he that serveth.’

Secondly, Indians have largely been excluded from an effective voice in certain branches of missionary work which vitally affect them and their interests, such as the education of their children, or, sometimes, the training of candidates for the ministry.

Thirdly, the direction of missionary method by a foreign body without adequate Indian representation has gravely increased the danger that Christianity in India will express itself on western rather than indigenous lines.

Fourthly, the existence side by side of an Indian Church and of a foreign evangelizing agency outside the control of the Church has on the one hand tended to make the Christian community in India look upon evangelization as the foreigner’s responsibility. The Church thus drifts into the condition of a self-regarding body concerned primarily with its own edification and benefit. On the other hand it breeds in the missionary a certain aloofness. The Church of the land is not really his spiritual home. His closest ties link on not with that Church but with the society at home. The relationships of which he is most conscious and which affect him most intimately are those that connect him with the home board. He views the Church in India rather from without than from within.

We pass to examine the assumption that foreign funds must be administered by the foreign missionary organization. In this connexion we still have not heard the last of the adage that ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune.’ This view has recently been very powerfully countered, and it may suffice to mention here two arguments, one of expediency and the other of principle. In the first place, the Indian Church is very poor, while relatively the missions control large sums of money. If responsibility is to be strictly measured by self-support, we have to face the inevitable consequence that we can only have Indian control and leadership in a quite small fraction of the whole Christian organization in India, which in the present state of things in India would be suicidal. Second, and perhaps more important, the money given by Christian people in the West for the support of missionary work is given by them for the work of Christ’s Kingdom, and while it is entrusted to a missionary society to disburse, it in no way follows that the control of such money must be in the hands of men personally known to or racially kin with those who have given it. The best mind of the home supporters of missionary work will look only to see that the money given is most fruitfully used for the extension of the kingdom of God.

It is, of course, unquestionable that if those who contribute at home for foreign missionary work are not satisfied that the funds which they contribute are expended in accordance with their wishes their contributions will cease. But while this fundamental principle governs the situation, there does not appear to be any particularly strong reason why the home societies should not commit the expenditure of the funds transmitted to India to a body on which Indian opinion is represented, or even dominant. Indeed, when it is remembered that the primary aim of missionary effort is to establish a truly indigenous Christianity, there would appear to be, from the standpoint of the home supporters of missions, a considerable advantage in obtaining the advice of Indians in regard to the best use of funds. And further, even where the Christian community is backward and lacking in experience, consultation with Indian representatives regarding the uses to which foreign funds may be put would do much to educate the community for the exercise of greater responsibility. Where there are Indians possessing the necessary knowledge and experience there seems to be no reason why the funds supplied by the home committee should not be administered by a body on which both foreign missionaries and Indians are represented, nor does any question of principle appear to be involved which would rule out the possibility of Indians being in a majority on such a body. From the standpoint alike of ensuring that foreign funds are expended to the best advantage and of the education of the Christian Church in responsibility, the administration of funds exclusively by a foreign organization appears to be a weakness rather than a strength.

This view is steadily gaining recognition. Recent years have witnessed marked development in the association of Indians in the administration of foreign funds. In some missions there has been a considerable transfer of mission funds to the actual control of the Indian Church.

It is further urged against entrusting the administration of foreign funds to an Indian body that this may lead to the pauperizing of the Indian Church, and that money which is acquired too easily is apt to weaken character. In reply it may be pointed out that the present system is just as much calculated to 'pauperize' the Indian Church. The administration of the funds by a committee of Englishmen in India does not alter the fact that to-day for nine-tenths of the money expended on the evangelization of the country India is dependent on foreign supplies. The question is at bottom one of the relation of money to character. If a man comes by money too easily he may spend it lavishly. Those who know how much self-denial lies behind missionary contributions will be the last to underrate the importance of the careful use of money on the part of those who administer in India. It may very fairly be held that to commit suddenly the charge of large funds to untried and poor Indian councils might act harmfully upon them. Much depends upon the working out of some ratio, as in the method of diminishing grants, between the contributions of the Indian Church and of the mission. On the other hand there is a subtle but very real danger to character in a man's handling as a subordinate funds which he does not control and whose origin he does not understand. The admission of Indians to a measure of control of mission funds would go far to remove the suspicion and half-knowledge with which Indians sometimes regard the missionary finances. That is truly 'pauperization' where an unworthy spirit of cringing or of cunning is engendered in those who receive, and to refuse to the Indian the oversight of funds because they are foreign funds is to run grave risk of precisely this 'pauperization,' through ignorance, suspicion and misunderstanding, in the Indian Church.

Moreover, it needs to be remembered that not seldom a man actually gains in strength and maturity of character by having put upon him the responsibility for administering funds that come to him from outside. During the war many a Y.M.C.A secretary, European and Indian, developed rapidly through the administration of the funds entrusted to him. Higher spiritual levels, fuller mutual trust, deeper fellowship, would go far to solve our present difficulties. Solutions which under existing conditions would be impossible might become practicable if a new fellowship between Indians and foreigners could be created.

The difficulties connected with the use of foreign funds are in part the result of the deep economic gulf which exists between India and the West. We have created conditions and methods of work which can only be maintained by European wealth. But more, missionaries go as rich to poor, a handicap no less serious than their connexion with the ruling race. The facts cannot be altered, but their incidence can perhaps be mitigated, and they must never be forgotten in any survey of the essential elements in the situation.

In the effort to establish a genuine partnership between foreigners and Indians in the evangelization of India consideration must be given not only to the use of foreign funds but to the position of foreign personnel.

The basal fact of the position is that while many Indians serve under foreigners, it is very exceptional for a missionary to serve under an Indian body. It is not merely a question of an Englishman serving as professor in a college of which there is an Indian principal. The crucial matter is the character of the controlling body. A genuine partnership involves reciprocity, and if on the one hand many Indian Christian workers are under the control of a body composed of foreigners, it would seem that hesitation on the part of foreign missionaries to place themselves under the direction of an Indian body is a denial of the principle of equality and brotherhood. The question is undoubtedly beset with many difficulties. While there are many Indian Christians of education and experience, yet they are still relatively few in number, and in many places it would be difficult to constitute Indian committees possessing the experience necessary if they are to be competent to control the work of more experienced foreign missionaries. Even where this is not the case, there is a not unnatural hesitation on the part of missionaries to have their private affairs determined by a body which, through ignorance of European conditions, may not have the necessary understanding for dealing with them. There appears to be no reason why steps should not be taken to meet this particular difficulty. Even if foreigners were to come under the direction of an Indian body, arrangements could be made by which their private affairs should come under the cognizance of a sub-committee composed exclusively of their countrymen. An arrangement of this nature for dealing with personal matters would not contravene the general principle of equality. It would, however, be necessary that in this matter there should be reciprocity, and that the private affairs of Indian workers should be dealt with by a sub-committee composed of Indians. It would startle many an outsider to discover how large a part of the business of some mission committees is concerned with the domestic affairs of Indian workers. Indian resentment of these conditions is not unnatural. They challenge our competence in the matter.

While reasonable arrangements might be made to meet real difficulties, it would seem that if once the principle of brotherhood and equality be accepted, any difference of position as between foreigners and Indians can be justified only on the ground of differences of intellectual and spiritual development, and not on racial grounds.

The question which is here raised in regard to the position of foreign personnel is analogous to that which under the new reforms scheme will arise in the political sphere in regard to members of the Indian Civil Service. In this connexion reference may be made to the noble utterance on a recent occasion of that veteran Indian administrator, Sir Thomas Holland. Addressing his colleagues, he said:

'As one of those who feared, in company with many Indian friends, that the proposed schedule of transferred subjects would pile on unfamiliar shoulders a dangerously, and even unfairly, heavy initial burden, my example in re-enlisting, after enjoying for some years the profitable advantage of freedom from official harness, may appeal more effectively than my advice to those who find it difficult to balance the apparently conflicting claims of conscientious conviction and disciplinary duty.'

Missionaries may be trusted to show like spirit when the occasion offers, and indeed there must be many who are looking forward to the new order for the very reason that at last they will find themselves in the position that befits the missionary—that of personal dependence on the goodwill and favour of the race they come to serve.

III. SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

A subsequent paper will consider the attempts which have been made up to the present to solve the question under consideration and the light they have shed on the problems of the future. There are, however, a few general considerations that emerge from the analysis of the situation which may be briefly noted here.

First it is necessary, as has already been pointed out, clearly to recognize that we have to deal not with one problem but with different problems. Conditions in different areas and different missions are very diverse, and no single solution will apply to all.

Secondly, while real progress has been made in many directions and much sound work has already been done, it is essential that, at the present juncture, there should be a definite step forward with the least possible delay. The time will not wait. The advance must be such as to make unmistakably plain to Indians that the missionary bodies have the definite object of planting in India a truly indigenous Christianity, and that they recognize that Indians are entitled to a decisive voice in the task of Christianizing India. Indeed there is a subtle danger in the oft repetition of the words, 'We must decrease that they may increase'; for, as Bishop Welldon has put it, 'When a man has uttered a noble sentiment he feels he has done a noble deed.'

Thirdly, any forward advance must take full account of the difficulties to which attention has been called in the earlier part of the article and must include measures designed to remedy these.

Fourthly, it is clear that in the last resort the problem is not only one of organization. The dominating factors in the situation are not those which relate to machinery. They concern character and personal relationships. The needed changes will make the most severe and imperious demands on the Christian character of all concerned. We are compelled to recognize that a solution of our difficulties may be impossible until we have reached a new level in spiritual insight and trustful fellowship. Perhaps the most important step towards a solution may be the intimate gatherings of Indians and Europeans which have been a marked feature of recent years.

Since one of the important objects is to convince educated Indians that the missionary societies are in earnest, it deserves to be considered whether the missionary societies might not jointly make a pronouncement, declaring it to be their aim to establish in India a Church which shall be truly Indian in character, and cordially inviting the leaders of the Indian Church, whether denominationally or in concert, to help them by putting forward proposals and schemes calculated to further this object. This might in present circumstances have far-reaching and valuable results. But the real solution of the problem can be worked out only by those in India. It will be found as Indians and missionaries come together in an atmosphere of fellowship and prayer. This, though an indispensable condition, will not of itself achieve the highest results without clear and accurate thinking regarding fundamental principles. The present paper is submitted as a small contribution towards the purposeful study of these principles.

A VISION OF THE INDIAN CHURCH

By J. C. WINSLOW

'I WILL shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

In this day of the shaking of the nations, of their quickening with a new and intense life, is the Church of Christ ready to fling wide her gates and to welcome all the wealth of their ancient heritage for the enrichment of the City of God ? For not otherwise will those nations 'flow unto her,' and not otherwise will she herself attain to her perfect stature as the Body of Christ, 'the fullness of Him Who all in all is being fulfilled.'

Of no country is this truer than of India to-day—India thrilling from end to end with a new-found national consciousness. A Church exclusive and remote, unstirred by these throbbing tides of her new life, blind to her glowing vision, heedless of her splendid heritage, can never win the heart of India. Only if the Indian Church is indeed 'Indian of the Indians,' able to show that she can welcome and use all the 'desirable things' of this ancient land, and that in their new setting they take on an added beauty, will her message be heard and her invitation accepted.

May I try, then, to describe a vision which has gradually taken shape in my mind of what the Indian Church might be ?—a vision slight, fragmentary, open doubtless to criticism in detail—not an ordered programme.

I seem to see the Indian Church modelled, as regards its organization, on the lines of the ancient village community. In every village the natural leader of the community, without relinquishing his own profession, acts as elder or minister to the congregation, commissioned to dispense to them the Sacraments. In all matters that concern the welfare and upbuilding of the local Church, he acts in consultation with his *panchayat,* which has the confidence of the people. Over a wider area (a *tālukā* or a district) a similar system of church government prevails. There is at the head a Bishop or Overseer, not an autocrat but chosen by the people themselves and acting in consultation with a representative assembly elected by the village communities. It is not unlike a Presbyterian system, crowned by a constitutional Episcopate.

I see the men and women in these Christian communities, not aping the ways of western civilization, but true Indians—Indians in dress, Indians in manner of life, Indians in heart, glorying in their country's heritage, eager to forward her freedom; bound together in a brotherhood of mutual helpfulness more strong than caste, yet not isolated from their non-Christian fellow-countrymen but one with them in their interests and occupations, in the joys and sorrows of their daily lives; distinguished amongst their neighbours for their patriotism, for their large brother-heartedness, for their social service, for the high level of their living and of their thinking; their temper gradually permeating and transforming all around them by a subtle infection.

And the children at school—not in stuffy, nor even in the most hygienic, classrooms at the most improved American desks, but (as at Bolpur) in the wide spaces of nature and under the shade of the trees; and again, not cramming for examinations by the aid of dictated lessons and close-packed text-books, but learning rather to think for themselves and growing daily in moral stature; their training religious through and through: their consciences educated and their ideals moulded by the constant personal contact and lofty example of their revered *guru*; loving the heroes of the Bible, loving too the heroes of the great epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana; and, as they grow older, entering into the treasure-house of the deep things of the spirit, their minds steeped in the teaching of the New Testament, yet not scorning the help of the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgītā and the great *bhakti* saints, but finding in all the self-revelation of God through the Divine Logos, as S. John has set Him forth.

I see men, women and children alike, eagerly awaiting and rejoicing in the great festivals which come round in regular succession, marking the stages of the year's course; —Christmas, above all the children's festival; Makarasankrānta, with its New Year's greetings; Easter, the festival of the New Life, incorporating in itself whatever is worth preserving in the Holī; Dīpāvalī, the festival of light, with its blaze of lamps; and many another.

And then the worship. I see churches, at least in Hindu India, shaped like temples only with a larger shrine. The outer court is used for *kīrtans*, for public preachings, and for all large gatherings. The inner sanctuary serves for the regular assemblies of the faithful. On the walls are sculptures or frescoes by Indian artists—Isaiah in the temple, and Gautama the Buddha beneath the bo-tree, the great illumined seers; Sītā, the type of wifely faithfulness, and Ruth the Moabitess, the pattern of self-sacrificing affection. Within the sanctuary no lingam or Ganesh or Hanuman, but the figure of Christ crucified, who is the 'express image' of the invisible God, yes, of His very Essence, which is Love; and a priest, not offering the blood of slaughtered goats, but ever presenting with the worshippers to the Father the One Perfect Sacrifice offered once for all 'for the sins of the whole world'; in place of the smoke of the *homa* the incense rising; drums beating and cymbals clashing; the people barefooted, now bending prostrate in adoration, now joining together in the *bhajans* that they love, now greeting one another with the 'salutation of peace,' now partaking together without distinction of caste or rank in the Holy Food. I see also the Christian *sādhus*, clad in their orange robes, travelling from place to place, and supported by the gifts of the people, that they may be free to devote themselves, not to solitary contemplation only, but to the work of teaching and to deeds of humble service; men like Sunder Singh, whose personality has moved India as no other Christian in these modern days has moved her. And I see *āshrams*, in which not only these wandering *sannyāsīs* but all manner of Christian workers are prepared by many years of training for their mission—to which also may come older workers for a time of rest and refreshment, and any, whether Christian or Hindu, who feel the need of escaping for a season from the pressure of worldly cares into some place where the sense of God's reality may be renewed and deepened. These homes of meditation, prayer and study are set amid surroundings of natural beauty, close to some river old in story, with plenty of vegetation and verdure and with a soil that can produce food sufficient for those that dwell there. The life is ordered and disciplined. When the first flush breaks in the East,[1] all rise, and after their morning ablutions, as the stars begin to fade, foregather in silence in the temple court. They repeat the *Gāyatri Mantra*—'Let us meditate upon the excellent glory of the Light Divine; may He inspire our understandings'—and remain wrapt in quiet contemplation till after the sun has risen. Then there is study of the Sacred Scriptures, like the Brahman study of the Vedas, and common devotions within the sanctuary, answering to the Hindu *pūjā*. There is work to be done upon the land before the sun has become too fierce; and then, after the morning meal, there is further study—not stereotyped lectures, but fresh, spontaneous, individual investigation—both of the Christian and the Hindu sacred books; of the best methods of instruction; of simple medicine, that they may be able to serve men's bodies as well as their souls; of the national poetry and music, that they may reach their hearts. As the day cools, they may go abroad for pastime, for ministry or teaching; but ever returning, at the sunset, for the evening *sandhyā*, passing back from work and service to adore in the twilight stillness the glory of God, and to drink in His peace.

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[1] 'The red has broken' is the picturesque Marathi description of the first moment of the dawn.

And over all, in *āshram* and town and village, I see not Krishna but Christ enthroned—yet a Christ who comes 'not to destroy but to fulfil,' Who gathers up into Himself and completes the splendid heritage of India's faiths: Christ the Bhagavat, the Adorable, the wholly lovely; Christ the supreme Guru; Christ the perfect Avatāra. Through Him God is known at last with a fullness of revelation—a Triune Personality so rich beyond our conceiving or expressing that we may well speak of Him as more than personal; yet loving with more than a Father's love; holy with the fullness of moral perfection that we see in Christ; and immanent in all things as Spirit, yet most in Christ-like souls. And there is discovered also how by the grace of that same Incarnate Christ, Who gave Himself up to die upon the Cross, all bad *karma*—that grim fetter of evil inheritance and evil habit that grips us from the past—can be broken, and changed into good, for all who will take refuge at His Feet with self-resigning *bhakti*, with devotion and faith and love; how thereby they may be made utterly one with God, so that the old self dies and passes, and the full orb of the Christ-character begins to reproduce itself within His *bhakta*—gentleness made perfect in moral strength, humility crowned by gifts of leadership, the spirit of detachment balanced by abounding vitality, asceticism redeemed from selfishness by love.

Can we doubt that at the Feet of a Christ so witnessed India would fall down and worship?

J. C. WINSLOW

CHRISTIANITY AND AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

By SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

THERE are two powerful and convincing reasons why agricultural education should form a large part in the effort to establish the kingdom of God in India.

I. The first is that it meets one of India's most urgent needs. The grant of a large measure of responsible government has forced into the foreground the question of Indian education. Self-governing institutions presuppose an intelligent and public-spirited electorate. Since eighty per cent of the population of India are mainly rural and get their living from the soil the problem of education is largely one of rural education. Unless this problem can be solved it is impossible for India to advance along the path which she desires to tread. There is a general consensus of missionary opinion that we have not yet found the right kind of education for the villages. The education at present given tends to take boys away from the village into literary and clerical walks of life. What is needed is an education adapted to the needs of village life which will keep the boy among his own people and enable him to earn a proper living. Because this education is not being given parents do not send their children to school. The necessity of discovering the kind of education suited to the needs of village life has been recognized by the mission boards in sending out the Education Commission which is at present in India.

Not only have we to discover the right kind of education but it must be one that will pay for itself. India, by whatever standards we measure, is one of the poorest countries on earth, and in her present deplorable economic condition is totally unable to pay for her own education. The people in many parts are too poor to support schools. Their economic condition must be improved before it is possible to establish and maintain a general system of education. Since eighty per cent of the population get their living from the soil, and agriculture is therefore India's greatest industry, if there is to be general economic advance the fundamental problem to be dealt with is the improvement of agriculture. The only possible permanent increase in national income must come from an increase in production both per acre and per man. The yields of all the staple crops of India are about the lowest average yield per acre and per man for any civilized country. The government scientists have bred better wheat, better cotton, better sugar cane, better rice, are introducing better methods of cultivation, are learning how to overcome crop diseases and pests, are introducing and adapting agricultural implements. Better implements are fundamental to the improvement of Indian agriculture. The Indian farmer has gone as far as it is possible for him to go with his present inefficient tools and implements. Better implements demand trained men to care for them and to work them. If all the improvements that the Indian Agricultural Department has made could be carried to every village in India production could be increased by the present cultivators from fifty to one hundred per cent. In this increase is the means to pay for whatever education India gets.

Some there are who claim that industrial development is the main source of an increased national income. I partly agree with this if the industries are those related to agriculture, as the making of agricultural tools and implements, the pressing of oil seeds, the crushing of cane and refining of sugar, the making of rope, the tanning of hides, the making of packing cases and containers for the raw products of India. Industries that depend directly upon agricultural raw products can absorb the surplus population and gradually reduce the percentage of those that are directly engaged in agriculture and increase the percentage of those engaged in industry.

It may be thought by some that the problem we are discussing is one for the Government rather than for Christian missions. Government, as has already been pointed out, has done and can do a great deal. The Government of India has been peculiarly fortunate in its scientific agricultural officers. The valuable discoveries in wheat by Mr and Mrs Howard, in sugar cane by Dr Barbour, in cotton by Leake, to name only a very few of the important discoveries, are witness. Government is doing the necessary experimental work on a scale and with means and resources beyond the reach of any missionary society. This work should be left to Government. But in making the results of these discoveries available all over India missions have an important contribution to make.

If Christian missions are going to engage in the work of education at all it is important that they should not neglect one of the most important branches of education. Moreover, if the conditions of Indian village life are to be improved it will not be by teachers who have had a merely technical training. The teachers who can transform village life must be men inspired and sustained by high ideals of service. As Christians we believe that the Christian motive is more powerful than any other to raise up such a body of men. Therefore by setting ourselves to train teachers and demonstrators capable of improving agricultural methods and inspired by the spirit of serving the community, Christian missions can make an indispensable contribution to the solution of India's most vital problem and can thereby bear witness to Christ perhaps more powerfully than in any other way.

II. The second reason why agricultural education should form part of the programme of Christian missions is that it is necessary for the development of a strong and effective Christian Church. What has been said about education generally applies with equal force to the education of Christians. Eighty-three per cent of the Indian Christian community are illiterate. A Church thus handicapped cannot do the work which needs to be done in India. But, as has already been pointed out, illiteracy can be overcome only by dealing with the economic problem which lies behind it. We must put village Christians in a position to be able to pay for the education they need. Further it is only by dealing with this problem that we can hope for a self-supporting independent Church. To teach the Indian Christian community how to overcome its poverty through its own efforts will not only help to make the Church self-supporting financially but will also help to develop character and self-respect. It is this growth in character, so vital to the health of the Church, which agricultural education, related to the needs of life, is much better calculated to develop than a purely literary education.

I shall now attempt to describe how we are trying to solve this problem through the Agricultural Institute at Allahabad.

The Agricultural Institute at Allahabad has 275 acres of land. This land was acquired by the Government under the Act but paid for by the mission, and cost Rs. 35,000. It lies south of the Jamna river. The main line of the East Indian Railway forms one boundary. The properties include a cattle barn, 24 × 240 feet, machinery sheds, dairy building with classrooms, two dairy barns with accommodation for eighty milch cattle, feed-rooms, store-rooms, offices, seven underground siloes, dormitory accommodation for one hundred students, kitchens for Hindus, athletic fields, tennis courts, two bungalows for American teachers. Our farm equipment consists of a tractor and gang plow, two small oil engines, crude oil engine and plows, pumps, harrows, rollers, threshing-machine, hand tools, etc., twenty-five pairs of work oxen, dairy herd, flock of sheep and goats. We have fitted up temporarily dormitory rooms as classrooms and laboratory. The staff now consists of four American agriculturists, two of whom have degrees, and seven Indians.

I have thus fully described our equipment which has cost approximately $100,000.00 (£20,000) in order to show the beginning we have made. So many mission ventures lack proper equipment that it is impossible for them to carry out their aims. Until we give Indian students a proper training, as good as we get, we cannot expect good results. We are giving four-year courses in agriculture to matriculate or graduate students, English being the medium of instruction, two-year courses in English and vernacular, short courses and summer schools for rural teachers and preachers. The men so trained are fitted to be:

(1) Demonstrators who shall go to the village farmer struggling for a living and show the farmer the better way on the farmer's own land.

(2) Teachers (*a*) who shall teach in central institutions;

(*b*) teach in country schools the boys who are being trained as rural teachers, and who when trained go back to the village to teach the children of the farmer whom the demonstrator has convinced.

(3) Young Men's Christian Association rural secretaries who have been specially trained to organize co-operative credit societies. Cheaper credit, while of great value, unless accompanied by enlarged production is not in the nature of a permanent improvement.

(4) Farmers (*a*) who farm their own or rented land but who expect to get their living from their own efforts on the land. This is the supreme test of our work and if successful opens a new occupation to educated Indians;

(*b*) to farm and manage large estates and commercial farming companies.

(5) We give special courses to fit men:

(*a*) As agricultural engineers—unless there be men trained to care for and run improved machinery it cannot be introduced.

(*b*) As dairymen,

(*c*) For fruit and vegetable growing,

(*d*) For special crops such as cotton and sugar cane,

(*e*) For mission workers, preachers and teachers,

(*f*) For teachers in government and rural schools.

(*g*) We have trained a number of illiterates who have no land of their own. As ordinary village casual labourers they were worth Rs. 6 per mensem. Most of these men are now getting from Rs. 12–18 per mensem working for non-Christian employers. Objection is often raised that it is of little use to train in agriculture the landless casual labourer, but our experience is that when such men are trained they get *regular* employment at a salary that enables them to have enough to eat.

All students attend a daily Bible class. If we get a system of county schools and village schools, the classes for sub-matriculate students and in practical agriculture for illiterates would be removed from Allahabad to the county and village respectively. We have gone far enough with the experiment to know that not only is it possible to multiply the yields of the soil but also to multiply the earning capacity of the boy. The demand for our students at good salaries and independent of mission service is much greater than we can supply. And if we could only multiply the number we turn out we believe that the day of the self-supporting self-propagating Church is appreciably nearer and that the terror of famine can be indefinitely removed. We are giving short courses in summer schools to rural teachers from the government and mission schools. Staff and students are regularly engaged in extension work.

I am now working to enlarge our institution into what I call an ‘ Indian Hampton ’ which has as its object the training of Indian leadership to cover the whole range of Indian rural life. In addition to agriculture we must have the related and subsidiary industries, such as blacksmithing and carpentering for the care and repair of agricultural machinery, tanning, rope-making, basket-making, oil-pressing, cane-crushing. In the United Provinces the average tenant's farm is three and a half acres. Thus for part of the year time hangs heavy on his hands. And it is the profitable occupation of this time which is now wasted that will give the margin of profit which will enable him to have money to provide himself with decent clothing and food and something to pay for the education of his children. All thoughtful men recognize the need for more industrial development and I believe a larger industrial development waits upon an improved agriculture than is possible if agriculture is ignored. Improved agriculture is the one rock-bottom fact, the supply of the wealth that is to make progress possible in other branches.

When one studies the mortality of India and recognizes that sixty-two per cent of the people are beyond the reach of medical attention of any kind, and notes the causes of death, especially of little babies, we see how important it is that the girls and women of India be educated, and we therefore contemplate having a woman's department which shall train girls and women to help in the betterment of rural conditions in India. In India it is possible to grow excellent vegetables and it would be a good plan to start a canning industry for women. At the present time several million dollars' worth of canned vegetables are imported. In the villages this could be a co-operative industry. At one or two places school gardens for girls have been tried with success.

It is not to be understood that the introduction of better agriculture is the complete answer to India's economic problems. Land tenure is of great importance. In the eastern United Provinces one-third of the land is cultivated by 'tenants at will' who are not allowed to remain on the same land for more than one year. If they introduce better seed and methods they seldom reap any benefit from their extra foresight and labour. These 'tenants at will' must have legislation that will guarantee to them a fair share of the increased return. Then the problem of the village *bania* or usurer is being studied by the co-operative movement. If therefore a strong institution can apply itself to these other problems it can bring pressure to bear on landlords and Government and can inform public opinion.

Some missionaries hold that what is needed is foreign missionaries with special industrial training, each one to go out to a district and solve its problems. This is merely to repeat the mistakes of the past. 'One-man shows' are good but at best are shortlived. The central institution with a strong adequately trained staff is better fitted to study the problems of the particular district. The central institute has as its aim the training of Indians for leadership. This I take to be essential. The isolated foreign missionary could not do this. The properly trained Indian will also be of greater value in the villages as he can understand village conditions better than the foreigner.

To run such an institution properly twenty trained American men, preferably married, and ten or a dozen adequately qualified American women with, say, two Indian assistants for each American would, to begin with, be a sufficient staff to train 600 boys and 200 girls. We estimate that not less than $1,000,000 for equipment to be spent within the next five years and $1,000,000 for endowment would give it a fair start. The men and women who could do this work should first of all be missionary in spirit and motive, properly qualified professionally, full of enthusiasm and content to find the satisfactions of life in their work and not in the monetary return. They would need to be men and women whose education has captured the imagination, full of faith and hope and courage, of the patient pioneer spirit, teachable and adaptable. And if these can be found to work out at Allahabad courses for the training of demonstrators and for rural teachers, not only will missions be greatly benefited but Government with its vast resources will be led to invest them in similar institutions and thus we should be able to help the whole of India. When we lift India we are lifting one-fifth of the human race. The present poverty of India, with all the evil train of poverty-born diseases, is a menace to the rest of the world, but with India enjoying responsible government, economically independent, she could take her place in the councils of the nations and contribute her fair share to international progress and goodwill and thus help mightily to bring His Kingdom for which we daily pray.

SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REPORT AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

By B. D. GIBSON

THE Report of the Calcutta University Commission was treated as a whole by Dr Garfield Williams in an article in the last number of the Review. But the Report is based on so exhaustive a study of educational conditions in India and contains material of such value that it seems desirable to make some of the results of the labours of the Commission available in greater detail to those who have not the leisure to study the five volumes of report and eight of evidence and appendices.

What the Commission has to say on the subject of the education of women and girls is of special interest and importance and this article attempts nothing more than to give a summary of what is contained in the report.

IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

'Education is essentially a question of social reform . . . and in education I would give first place to the education of girls. The education of a single girl means the uplifting of a whole family in a larger sense than the education of a single man.' This striking statement by an eminent Indian [1] opens the chapter on the education of women. The Report goes on to remind us that as long ago as 1854 the famous educational despatch which laid the foundations of the present system of education in India recognized that the importance of the education of women could not be overrated and that 'by this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men.' The Commission clearly recognizes that the education of women 'has a profound influence upon the whole texture of national life and the whole movement of national thought and until some working solution is found for this problem, it must remain impossible to bring the education of men into a sound and healthy condition.'

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[1] Mr Natarajan, the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, in his presidential address at the Bombay Provincial Social Conference in 1918.

And yet, in spite of the recommendations of the despatch of 1854, the number of girls who achieve any considerable progress, or advance far enough to be able to sympathize with or understand the work and thoughts of their husbands and brothers is still infinitesimal. Further, such progress as has been made in the training of girls beyond the elementary stage has been almost wholly due to Government or to the missionaries. Of the fourteen high schools in Bengal for Indian girls four are government institutions, seven are under missionary bodies and only three (two of which, though aided by Government, are far from efficient) owe their existence to private enterprise. In the sphere of girls' education there is no parallel at all to that extraordinary activity of private enterprise which has established hundreds of high schools for boys.

OBSTACLES IN THE WAY

In view of the difficulties on every side, however, the slow progress of women's education is not surprising. Social custom and agelong tradition, even religious sentiment and loyalty, interpose obstacles of the most serious nature. The Report of the Commission shows how deep-rooted these are. In the first place girls in Bengal, as throughout India, marry very young. Early marriage discourages a father from spending on his daughter's education money which might be used as her dowry, and removes promising girls from school just at the age when their independent mental life is beginning. Though the age of marriage is slowly rising, it is still too low to make it possible that a girl should have had a good education before she marries.

In the second place all orthodox Bengali women, Hindu or Musalman, pass at an early age behind the purdah and spend the rest of their lives in the complete seclusion of their homes. The few women who have emancipated themselves are regarded by most of their countrywomen as denationalized. If education is to reach the women of Bengal, either it must penetrate the zanana or the purdah must be rent. The lack of women educated sufficiently to be useful teachers makes zanana teaching difficult and costly, but the other alternative is almost unimaginable, so great would be the resulting dislocation of Bengali society.

A further obstacle in the way of women's education is the deep-rooted conservatism of the people. This is particularly strong in the case of the older women whose authority in Indian households is very great. But the men, too, commonly support their view, even men who have themselves had a thorough western education. They would like to keep the women secluded from the disturbing floods of change which are surging into all other parts of their lives. They fear the unsettling influence of education and the reproduction in India of the evils of ' suffragetism.' As the Calcutta University Commission says, their correspondents who urge these views ' do not seem to realize that the demand for political rights in western countries is not due to, though it has been facilitated by, the improved education of women . . . but is the inevitable consequence of the political ideas which have been adopted in western lands during the last hundred years.' Great social changes cannot be averted merely by the denying of an efficient education to women, but only by shutting the door against the political theories and methods of the West, whereas these have already been more or less fully accepted in India. The denial of education to women cannot but mean a widening of the gulf between men and women and consequent domestic tragedy. The only solution must be 'a resolute attempt to achieve a real synthesis, not in women's education alone, between the ideas and traditions of the West and the ancient and rooted ideas and traditions of India.'

Finance is also a serious consideration. To spend money on the education of girls may mean on the one hand the stinting of their own dowries, and on the other the stinting of their brothers' equipment for life. It is probably a very wide-spread feeling which finds expression in one statement, 'People naturally prefer to educate their boys, well knowing that in future they will make them happy and comfortable in their old age and glorify their family, whilst girls, after marriage, will be at the mercy of others.'

For many reasons, some good and some less good, public opinion in Bengal while whole-hearted in favour of the education of boys is generally distrustful of the education of girls.

But apart from social difficulties there is further the impossibility of obtaining an adequate supply of women teachers. When there are less than 500 girls who even reach the top classes of the high school and less than 50 who attain to the intermediate stage in a year, what prospect can there be of supplying teachers for 22,000,000 ? But this lack of women teachers can only be remedied by great social change. A sympathetic student of the problem writes that 'peculiar difficulties and dangers surround the young women who in loneliness set out to teach in a mufassal school. Such women, however innocent and careful, are the victims of the vilest intrigues and accusations. The fact has to be faced that until Bengali men generally learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry towards women who are not living in zananas, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible.' The Hindu social system would appear on the other hand to offer a large source of supply of teachers in the numbers of girl-widows who may not marry again, and whose lives would otherwise be a round of mere aimless drudgery. Something has been done in the way of training widows, but the Hindus are extremely jealous of the honour of their widowed daughters and exceedingly suspicious of anything which takes them away from the immediate supervision of the elder women of the house.

In the case of the Musalmans the difficulties are even greater, for with them the seclusion of girls from a very early age is widely regarded not only as a social custom, but as a religious injunction. Nevertheless the demand for women's education is rising, and the numbers of Muslim girls undergoing instruction has increased very largely during the last few years. These, however, are almost all in primary schools, and a large proportion learn nothing but the chanting of the Quran in Arabic without any attempt to understand it. According to the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in Bengal 'the advance of education among Moslem women of the upper classes depends almost entirely upon the establishment and maintenance of strictly purdah schools, which should be staffed by Mohammadan women and confined exclusively to Mohammadan girls.' Some such schools exist but their increase is prevented by lack of teachers. Education by means of house-to-house visitation and central gatherings of women is advocated by some people, but again for this there is no adequate supply of competent teachers available.

PRESENT STATE OF EDUCATION

In face of all these problems it is not surprising that the higher education of women and girls in Bengal is on a very modest scale, as the facts given in the Report of the Commission show. In Bengal there is a strong prejudice against mixed education and very few girls are to be found in even primary schools for boys.

For many years Government has endeavoured to educate zanana women either by private gatherings or house-to-house visitation. In 1917, however, only 1317 married women and girls in Bengal were receiving such instruction under government auspices. The fourteen high schools had in that year nearly 2000 pupils, but less than one quarter of these were in the four 'high' classes and the proportion was the same in the case of the 214 Indian girls attending schools primarily designed for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

There are two types of high school, one, such as the Bethune School, Calcutta, to which the Hindu *Bhadralok*, including members of the Brahmo Samaj, send their daughters and from which the university colleges mainly draw their students, and the other, such as the mission high schools, which teach principally the daughters of converts. The majority of these come from the villages, often from the lowest grades of society. Education is essential to help them in the struggle for life, but few could profit by a university course—some cannot even take full advantage of the high school. They are trained, however, as teachers and but for them the problem of the supply of teachers for girls would be insoluble.

Both types of high school are arranged on the same plan as those for boys, and like them are dominated by the matriculation examination. That is to say the character of the education given to the few girls who go to high schools is dictated by an examination which ignores the peculiar needs of the kind of life most of them will lead and omits some of what ought to be the essential elements in their short period of training. The matriculation course does not even fit those girls who do go to college for the work they are expected to do there. Thus the education of girls is distorted, even more unnaturally than the education of boys, by the malign influence of the examination fetish. Yet the Commission, along with such criticisms, records its admiration for the devoted work which is being done in the face of all these difficulties by a number of able and self-sacrificing women.

Of the Arts colleges in Bengal two—those under government and Anglican missionary management—are affiliated up to the B.A. standard, and the third (Roman Catholic) only up to the intermediate. In 1917, 126 of the 179 women students were in the intermediate or higher secondary stage, thus only 53 women in all Bengal were doing true university work. The two missionary colleges draw their students largely from Calcutta and are mainly staffed by women, while the students of Bethune College come from every part of Bengal, and of the staff of ten, seven are men. The curricula are the same as in the men's colleges. The Commission, being composed of men only, does not consider itself competent to pronounce an authoritative judgment on this difficult point, but 'on the face of it, it would appear that a problem so difficult as that of the higher education of women cannot be solved merely by applying to them a system designed for men, and far from satisfactory even for them.'

In the two missionary colleges training classes for teachers are carried on alongside the ordinary degree work, but the classes are on a very small scale. During the last five years they have together produced an average of seven high school teachers per annum. For primary and lower secondary school teachers there are two government and seven aided missionary institutions. In 1917 there were altogether 123 students in these, of whom 92 were Indian Christians. The preponderance of Christians is partly because the missionary institutions are designed mainly to serve the Christian community and also because Christian social usages allow the women to render this kind of service. Eighty-five of these were studying in missionary institutions. The equipment of such teachers, both government trained and missionary, is very slight owing to the low standard of qualification for admission. One of the government training schools—at Ballygunj—

is for Hindu widows; but the Hindus themselves have as yet taken no steps to encourage employment of this sort for their widows. So far it has not been found possible to establish training classes for Moslem women.

Besides teachers, women doctors are desperately needed, for they alone can render the services needed in the zananas. The infant mortality in Bengal is terrible. Dr Bentley, the sanitary commissioner in Bengal, states that it may safely be assumed that one out of every four children born in Bengal dies during the first year of life, as compared with 91 per 1000 in England and Wales in 1916. This is due largely to ignorance and lack of proper medical attention; the former might be met by education, but the latter can only be satisfactorily met by the training of women as doctors. Yet in 1917 there were only thirty-three women studying in the medical college and non-university medical school of the presidency. Of these nineteen were Europeans or Anglo-Indians, eleven Indian Christians and three Hindus. The fact that women medical students in Calcutta must at present attend mixed classes is a great deterrent, yet Bengali women do not willingly contemplate such a journey as would be involved in attendance at the Lady Hardinge Medical School in Delhi. The Commission feels that 'all the existing arrangements are little better than makeshifts, and that until Hindu and Musalman society has materially modified its attitude on the training of women no real solution for this problem will be possible.'

Little provision is made for training for other careers, though lace making, weaving, and embroidery are taught in some of the missionary centres.

PROBLEMS OF REFORM

The Commission states emphatically that 'the education of women in Bengal cannot remain in its present condition. It is insufficient in scale to meet the needs of a progressive society, it reproduces all the faults of the system of training for men, and above all it tends to be out of touch with the traditions and needs of Indian society and thus, instead of playing its part in the gradual and healthful reconstruction of that society, it rouses vague but real alarm and leads to reaction.'

Any scheme of educational reform must be based on a study of the capacities and characteristics of those for whom it is designed. To this analysis the Commission devotes considerable space. In India, as in the West, there are two distinct problems to be considered: 'the education of those girls, at present few in number, but needed for the service of the commonwealth in far greater abundance, who will devote themselves to a profession; and the education of the many who will never go out into the world.'

Two Indian witnesses who had had experience of the work of both boys and girls expressed to the Commission their opinion that 'as regards intellectual ability and power of grasp the girls of Bengal are not inferior to the boys.' The members of the Commission themselves hold further that 'for many of the women of India the highest training which a university can offer will not be inappropriate or the most difficult of studies too exacting.' For there has been in India a continuous though slender succession of women eminent among their contemporaries for their powers of mind, insight and judgment, and of these there are not a few now in Bengal.

For most Indian girls in Bengal school life ends when they are about fourteen, if not before, but the training which they receive from the elder women in the homes of their husbands, though it lacks much intellectually from the European standpoint, is nevertheless a purposeful education designed to fit them for life. 'It is intended to produce (so far as variations of individual temperament may allow) adaptation to an ideal of life, conformity with a type which is honoured by tradition, and acceptance of certain canons of conduct which ancient usage prescribes.'

The management of an Indian household is by no means a negligible task, and in this the Hindu woman frequently attains to a high degree of skill, tact and resource. In the sphere of administration her abilities find congenial tasks, and her strong will and character, racy with mother-wit, impress themselves much more vigorously upon the family life than outside observers would imagine.

The Bengali girl has a feeling for order and neatness, she has natural grace of bearing, deftness of hand and simplicity of taste. She shares with other Indian girls the instinct of motherhood with which is closely involved a sense of religion, for the mystical aspect of life is very sacred to the Hindu soul. The power to idealize is the third chief instinct of the devout Indian girl, and at last through self-curtailment and discipline she may attain to the power of entering in moments of intense feeling beyond the entanglements of distracting thoughts into a peace which passes understanding.

Many Hindus believe that these fair gifts and qualities would be lost if their daughters were taught in western ways in the schools which, as things are now, are unavoidably western in outlook and tradition. Corresponding doubts and hesitations were expressed also to the Commission by Muslim witnesses. In the case of many girls it is alleged that the results have hitherto achieved neither what is best in the Hindu or Muslim ideals nor what is enviable in the European. Yet the old state of things cannot continue. Even now the men live in the perpetual strain of a dual life, of readjusting themselves from the life of the office and tennis court to the life of the home with the atmosphere of ancient India and all its rites and beliefs. Many young men feel that the happiness of their future married life is jeopardized by any deep gulf between the intellectual interests of men and women, and that under modern conditions of thought and feeling domestic sympathies are in danger of estrangement when husband and wife are living on two very different planes of culture.

The approach to the problem lies through sympathy, alike with those who, deeply imbued with loyalty to the older rules of a woman's duty, dread the results of any inconsiderate tampering with its foundations, and with those others who are convinced that the widening and deepening of the education of men calls for a widening and deepening of the education of women also.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

The recommendations of the Commission with regard to women's education are couched in general terms because it was felt that the detailed consideration of this very complex and difficult problem can only be profitably undertaken by bodies of men and women better qualified to deal with it, and better able to appeal to the enlightened public opinion of Bengal.

The two distinct needs of women's education to which reference has already been made receive separate attention. The need of the vast majority who will spend their lives in the zanana, whose education will cease at an early age and who ought to be trained on the one hand to perform their zanana duties with interest and knowledge, and on the other to understand and sympathize with the interests and work of their husbands and brothers ; and secondly, the need of the small but very important minority who will go out into the world to serve their fellows in professional callings, or will play their part in the intellectual activities of the progressive section of Indian society. In the case of purdahnashin women, the hope is expressed that a system of secondary schools of a new type may grow up, under purdah conditions and specially adapted to the needs of such women. Though the standards of attainment should be roughly equivalent it would be the greatest of blunders to make the courses of study for purdah girls identical with that for boys of the same age. The questions of content, methods and organization of these courses should be considered by a special body acting under and reporting to the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education which it is proposed to establish for the control of higher education. It is therefore recommended that such a body should be constituted by the board immediately it is established, as a standing committee consisting mainly of outside members. This body should consist largely of women and should have the power of calling into council purdahnashin women by the formation of an advisory committee consisting of women only, meeting under such circumstances that purdahnashin women could be members. This will be important as the teaching will largely depend for some time on English women, and special care must therefore be taken not to make the new kind of school unacceptable to those among the more orthodox sections of Indian society who, rightly or wrongly, fear the unsettling influence of western women. For women of the second type, schools and colleges of the existing pattern will continue to be necessary, but with a modified curriculum. This course need not be so closely adapted to zanana conditions as that of the purdah schools, yet there should be as great an approximation as possible between the content of the two schemes.

The Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education would be charged with maintaining the standard of girls' education, but the pressure of examinations might be lightened by the use of oral tests and the weighing of records of school work.

In view of the small numbers of women who proceed beyond the high school stage, it is not recommended that the intermediate should be separated from the degree stage as is suggested in the case of the education of men, and it is proposed that some training in teaching should be provided in all college schools which undertake this work. Both at the intermediate and the degree stage the Commission believes that there is ground for considering the desirability of adapting the courses of study in such a way that without any reduction of standards they may be made more suitable to the needs of women.

The Commission holds as a matter of principle that women should be admitted as far as possible to the instruction provided or organized by the university. But it is recognized that in the special circumstances existing in Bengal the main provision for women's higher education must be made in distinct institutions and under special direction. It is recommended that a special Advisory Board on Women's Education should be constituted in the University of Calcutta.

The provision of additional training for women in professional subjects, particularly in teaching and in medicine, and the inducement of a larger number of women to enter these professions, is further recognized to be among the most urgent social needs of Bengal.

Medical education presents many difficult problems. Very few women are willing to attend mixed classes, and the expense of establishing a separate school for women in Bengal would be out of proportion to the number of those who would take advantage of it. The Lady Hardinge Medical School for women in Delhi, which was founded as a medical college for all India, appears for the present the only way of meeting the need.

'Our recommendations in regard to women's education,' the Commission concludes, 'are couched in general terms, because we feel that the detailed consideration of this very complex and difficult problem can only be profitably undertaken by bodies of men and women better qualified to deal with it than we can claim to be, and better able to appeal to the enlightened public opinion of Bengal. In the last resort, it must be upon this opinion that all possibility of progress must depend. If the leaders of opinion in Bengal are ready to recognize the supreme importance of a rapid development of women's education and of an adaptation of the system to Indian needs and conditions, and if they are willing to spend time and thought and money in bringing it about, the question will gradually solve itself. Otherwise there must lie before this country a tragic and painful period of social dislocation and misunderstanding, and a prolongation of the existing disregard of those manifold ills in a progressive society which only an educated womanhood can heal.'

B. D. Gibson

SHOULD HEATHEN GAMES BE PRESERVED IN A CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY? A BANTU SPEAKS

By HENRI A. JUNOD

The Swiss Romande Mission has founded a modest theological school in Rikatla (near Lourenço Marques in Portuguese East Africa) where I am training five students for the ministry. These students are grown-up men who have shown ability as evangelists for a number of years. Their educational achievements are not very high. Most of them ignore advanced mathematics. But they are bright and earnest Christians. They have a high idea of the evangelical ministry; and however paradoxical this statement may seem—they all have the advantage of having been heathen in their early years. Thus they know what heathen life is much better than do any of us.

Every alternate Thursday there is a debate amongst the Rikatla students. The boys of the School of Evangelists join their elders of the Pastors' School and various subjects bearing on native life and customs are freely discussed. On the 4th of December 1919 the topic proposed for consideration was: Amongst our heathen games which should be preserved and which must be rejected by native Christians? Anybody acquainted with missionary questions will understand the importance of the subject. Natives are great players. When they get converted, they enter a new sphere of life; they sing hymns, they come to prayers, they attend schools. But their inclination to play is not killed. They remain happy children of nature who like to smile, even to laugh heartily and to enjoy themselves. This is quite legitimate. But a serious difficulty arises: What entertainments can we offer them to satisfy this craving for play which is so deep seated in their mind ?

The first idea which presents itself to any unprejudiced person is this : Why should they not continue to practise their old games ? Bantu are Bantu. Let them preserve as much as possible their character and their customs. Christianity does not destroy individuality. Their way of living, of playing, of singing, of dancing is so picturesque. Why should they not keep it when the Gospel has freed their souls from the errors of heathen religion ? This is the modern idea. Thirty years ago missionaries used to reason in quite an opposite way : Conversion means rupture —rupture with the heathen past under all its aspects. Heathenism forms a whole in which all the elements are inter-connected and depend on each other. Let every trace of the old life be thrown away. It is the condition, *sine qua non*, of a healthy Christian life in the native community.

In such a debate on such a subject I think that a man like Dan Malungane has his word to say. Dan Malungane is one of the five candidates for the ministry. His age is forty. He belongs to the brachycephal type : a strong head with a broad, shining forehead, a little moustache, deep eyes, something robust and decided in all his manners ; moreover there is a nice smile on his face, and he has a straight, bright look. Having to reply to the question of the day he said :

'I am not a judge. I cannot pretend to decide the matter. However I have thought about it and I will tell you to what conclusion I have arrived.

'Take our folklore first. Tales are everywhere spread amongst us and we are accustomed to assemble in our villages to listen to them. We enjoy ourselves greatly. I have heard people say : "Christians must renounce these tales because they help the old man to return and recover his power over us." I do not think this is true. When we read European books we find tales in them, for instance the tale of the crow and the fox. Now there is a moral lesson in that tale. The crow had better not have listened to the fox; the crow was punished for her vanity. In our tales you will find something very similar. They are useful; they teach us; let us preserve them.'

I must say I blessed Dan for this first part of his discourse. Bantu folklore is one of the most precious treasures of the race under all its forms: proverbs, riddles, animal folktales (especially the story of the manifold tricks played by Master Rabbit), moral tales, ogre tales. Native imagination has invented hundreds of such stories; some of them are certainly very old, and as they are found almost all over the world science thinks that they belonged to primitive humanity. To proscribe all this picturesque literature would be a distinct impoverishment. However I ventured to interrupt the speaker and asked him: 'But are all these tales really moral? Are not some of them of an obscene character?' He did not answer, but one of his fellows did it. He assured me that some of the tales indeed contained unclean words, especially in the little songs which accompany them; but they are few, and the great bulk of Bantu folklore is quite harmless and pure.

'As regards children at play,' Dan Malungane continued, 'we see little boys building miniature villages in clay, modelling oxen and wagons. This is very nice; they imitate their fathers. There was no objection against that in former times, when children were going about almost naked. Now Christian children wear clothing. When they sit in the midst of wet clay, they return home with their clothes so dirty that their mother must spend half a day to clean them. She gets angry; she cries. Better for our children to abandon these games in the new circumstances. It is not so objectionable when girls play. They take *sala* shells (parts of the bark of a rounded, hard fruit), use them as pots and cook in them roots or earth, without fire. This is not bad. They teach each other the art of cooking. It is a kind of apprenticeship.

‘ When they are older, boys play *nsema*. In this game a disk made of woven grass is thrown by one party towards the line of another party, and the boys belonging to that second party must pierce the disk with sharply pointed sticks while still rolling. If they succeed in destroying the disk, they have won the game. There is no sin in that. But we see boys put such an amount of passion into that game that when the bell rings to call them to school they do not hear it. Moreover they forget the oxen which they have to herd, and the oxen go and enter the gardens. On that account also the *nsema* must be condemned. The same boys also play at fencing (*mpfenkisana*). They learn how to fight with sticks and how to ward off blows ; they prepare themselves in that way to go and fight with other shepherds. As such fights are now prohibited, fencing has become useless. They also play at grasping each other (*pfinyana*) and fighting till one of the wrestlers has thrown his mate on the ground. This was very useful in former times. It gave strength and courage to the boys ; when a cow was restive and refused to be milked, they dared to enter the kraal, seize the animal by one horn and by the tail and make the cow powerless. But now we have ropes for the purpose, and this game has lost its utility.

‘ I come now to the *chitjendje*, the harp with a single string on which the grown-up boys accompany their songs. There are many kinds of such musical instruments. They generally consist of a rod bent like a bow, the string of which is well stretched, a calabash being used as a sounding box. Some have a powerful sound and are heard from far away. You may hear two boys, one in this village and the other two hundred or three hundred yards away, exciting each other, playing and singing on their *chitjendje* till late in the night. This is all right and very nice. But what are they singing all the time ? They are boys who want to marry ; they are in search of a girl . . . and they do not praise anything except her. Or they insult the one who did not accept their courtship. Their words are sometimes exceedingly bad. Yes! Such is our music, the music of the Ba-Ronga! We know too well what it aims at. The *chitjendje* is bad. It must be abandoned. The same thing applies to the *chiketchi* of the girls. It is a rattle which they toss about in singing. They think of their lovers and call them. Soon you will see them putting ornaments on their clothing, trying to attract the attention of the boys in this way. All this is nothing but darkness. Such games are not fit for us.

'Another custom of which we are very fond and which is universally spread amongst us is the visit paid to neighbours in the evening (*shusha, hungata*) to chat with them. Here there are two sides to consider. I may go myself to the house of my colleague Simeon to speak with him; we shall communicate our thoughts, eventually read our Bible together, and there is nothing to blame in that. Unhappily there is another *shusha*. . . . People assemble, talk, talk up to the middle of the night, even later. What do they speak of? Which are the grave matters about which they converse? Nothing! Their talk is not edifying; it is devoid of any interest. More than that, it is often decidedly detrimental. The week will not pass before an ugly accident takes place. All this nonsense will end in shame and adultery. My father though he was a heathen used to prohibit this kind of *shusha* in our village.

'Young people also like to play hide-and-seek (*ntumbelelano*) in the evening. Girls and boys assemble for that game. What is the use of it? One may be bitten by a snake in the veldt or scratched by thorns in the bush as it is dark; and, as sexes are mixed together, who may say what will happen? For us Christians, the way is clear: After sunset we go to evening prayer; then we retire home and go to sleep. These evening games are good for heathen. They are not the proper thing for us. As regards running, this is a good play. It develops the power of the legs. A prize is given to the winner of the race. I see no harm in that.' [I suspect that the speaker was of that opinion because this game is extensively played in the mission schools on our fête days.] 'There remains the question of dancing (*kina*). Heathen dances are not possible for people wearing trousers as we do. Christians entering the company of heathen dancers are mocked by them, and it is quite right. Such an entertainment is only proper for those who wear the belt of tails of our forefathers. Any dance of this kind is antichristian.

'Our national game, the old, old one, is the *tchuba*. It is played with passion all over the country.' [Dan Malungane might have added that this game, also called *mancala*, is found in many other countries, Ceylon, Indo-China, Bombay, Java, Palestine, Abyssinia, Angola, etc. In Delagoa Bay four rows of sixteen holes are dug in the sand. The two players sit down facing each other. They put two stones in each hole, and, following very strict rules, distribute these stones in such a way that the last one reaches an empty hole. When a player has succeeded in doing so, he has the right to take the stones of his companion from the holes opposite the one he has reached. See my book on *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. ii, i, p. 314.] 'Well,' added the speaker, 'this game is so attractive that men spend all their time in playing it. Work in the gardens is abandoned. Even when the wife calls her husband to come and eat food, he does not listen to her. And quarrels frequently arise, leading to fighting. The peace of the village is destroyed. *Tchuba* is the mother of laziness. Christians ought to abstain from it.'

This frank statement was contradicted in the discussion. Another student said: '*Tchuba* is nice. It is a great teacher of arithmetic. People become extremely clever at making calculations in order to win, and certainly the game develops their faculty of counting.' But immediately another speaker opposed vehemently. He said: 'Men often cheat at *tchuba*. Passionate discussions then arise. Fight ensues. How many wax crowns have I seen torn away from the heads of grown-up, respectable men in such cases! I approve the missionary of Shiluvane (Transvaal) who, one day, went to the Christian village and destroyed all the holes of the *tchuba* to prevent the men of the Church from playing that dangerous game.'

It was easy to see that the majority of the hearers endorsed the policy of prohibition.

The conclusion to which I came after this most interesting discussion is that thoughtful natives adopt a position of extreme reserve towards heathen games, if they do not condemn them absolutely. Their reasons may be childish sometimes, or dictated by a utilitarianism which is decidedly narrow. Still they have a deep intuition that it is dangerous for the native Christian community to preserve the entertainments of the old régime. An upholder of the modern idea might have shown them rightly that the main thing was a thorough change of heart. If such a change has taken place, many of these plays, harmless in themselves, may be preserved, as the development of moral sense will prevent the abuse. But I very much doubt that they would be persuaded by such a reason. They definitely consider the native convert as too weak in present circumstances to be able to overcome the danger, and think that, as a rule, he must abstain in order to maintain his Christian character.

I will not pretend that the Rikatla students have said the last word on this difficult problem, but I think that, after all, we shall be wise if we take into serious consideration the judgment of earnest natives on the question.

HENRI A. JUNOD

AGE-LONG PRINCIPLES AND MODERN LIFE

By WILLIAM PATON

There is a certain danger in the attempt, which most people do in fact make, to estimate the forces that shape and mould our own time. We necessarily lack the fuller information and, even more important, the dispassionate judgment of the historian writing with the events which he is recording seen in a true perspective. Nevertheless one cannot resist the conviction that humanity in our own day is faced with both a great peril and a great hope. Perhaps recent months of disillusionment have dimmed the hope, and yet there are myriads to whom the very agonies of war and the horror of a dying Europe brought by contrast the hope of a better world and the dawn of a new social and political order. Ideas which were formerly scouted as Utopian are now calmly considered by practical men. In international affairs the League of Nations, in the economic and social realm plans for drastic change and reconstruction, are now well within the sphere of practical politics, and the 'idealist,' though still the butt of gibes and subject of cartoons, is far nearer the temper of thousands of average men than the 'plain men of affairs' who laugh at him.

A great hope, but a great peril also. This hopeful speech and writing has a sombre background. The world to-day carries as much menace as hope. 'Bolshevism' is a word that covers a multitude of inaccuracies, but the thing that most people take it to mean, namely, anarchy, is no figment of a disordered brain but a condition from which a great part of the organized human society is separated only by a step. It is a serious question whether society will be able to hold together. There were elements of grave weakness in it which even before the war the stress of life was beginning to lay bare. It has since been subjected to an immense strain and testing, and much that seemed settled and firm in 1914 is now sorely shaken or has altogether vanished. Conceptions that ruled public life, national and international, have been swept away, old landmarks have gone, and the ship of humanity is tossing on a tempestuous and uncharted sea.

Moreover, the menace does not lie merely in the loosening of the bonds which hitherto have held society together. There are new and evil forces abroad. The League of Nations Covenant has as its counterpart some of the most shameless expressions of nationalist selfishness and hate that our generation has witnessed, and in the economic sphere a clear-cut doctrine is being preached and gaining acceptance which would subvert society and establish a 'dictatorship' of a class by violence and bloodshed. There is less and less room as every day passes for the half pagan, half Christian attitude which most respectable people adopt towards public life. We must embrace one or other principle, either the class war or a drastic reordering on the lines of co-operation and mutual trust, either permanent international covenants or greater armaments, vaster debts, more bitter hatred and a world ruin.

At a time like this the important question for all who care about the well-being of the human society is this:—Is there any spiritual principle on which human civilization can be securely based? Mere economic and political solutions are worse than valueless at the present time, because they tend to divert men's minds from the underlying issue. Any spiritual principle when clearly grasped must issue in action, and be translated into schemes of economic and political reconstruction, but unless schemes of economic and political organization rest on a clear basis of spiritual principle, there is no saving power for society. Clever patchwork or opportunist politics are a mere evasion of the issue. The world has to find a moral and spiritual basis on which to stand. If this can be found, the hope which is dawning in the hearts of men everywhere may be realized, and realized more speedily than we have dared to dream. If it cannot be found, we have nothing for us but a descent into a world chaos.

Christians will turn at a juncture like this to the New Testament and the life and teaching of Christ, to see whether they can find there any clear light on the meaning and value of human life, the principles which should permeate human society, and the ideal foundation for the common life of man. One reason why many Christians fail to do this is doubtless that the social conditions prevailing in Palestine in the time of Jesus Christ were so completely different from those of our own day that it is felt hopeless to gain guidance and help from teaching, even the most exalted, dating from so long ago. It is quite true that to look to the New Testament for detailed and specific guidance with regard to economic and political issues is to pursue a futile search ; it is not so that guidance is to be found. On the other hand when we turn to the New Testament, not as a law book containing detailed precepts, but as the classical expression of the Christian life and spirit, we are able to discern in it principles both profound and simple, which if accepted and put into practice can save society to-day. Of these principles, three stand out with great clearness.

In the first place, the fundamental teaching of Jesus Christ about human life and conduct is His insistence on the supreme value of human personality. This teaching of His about man derives its meaning from His teaching about God. He tells us that God is a Father, and that He has an infinite regard and care for all His children. Nothing is more valuable in the sight of the Almighty Father than the individual human soul. Men are potentially children of God, whether they recognize the fact or not, and to anyone who accepts this truth, there is given a standard of values superseding those which are generally maintained in the world. To anyone who accepts Christ's valuation of man and Christ's conception of man's relation to God, the Christian scale of values becomes quite clear. It may not be a simple thing to live always in obedience to these values, but it can hardly be doubted what these values are.

Secondly, a particular aspect of human conduct and moral duty on which Jesus Christ lays most emphasis and of which He Himself is the supreme example, is unwearied selfless service of our fellow-men. His attitude to life contains implicitly the suggestion that there are two motives, either of which can sway humanity. The one is self-interest, the other is unselfishness or love. His moral teaching is very rarely negative ; He does not bid men abstain merely from selfishness and hate, He bids them serve and love. He would have the whole of life express this attitude of mind, so that service should become not an appendage to life lived under the influence of other ideals, but the very marrow and core of life itself.

Thirdly, there is the principle of fellowship, which is the complement of the teaching of Jesus Christ about the individual. To Him, the life of man is empty unless it is lived in fellowship with God, and if it is lived in fellowship with God that fellowship will have its counterpart in fellowship with men. The common life in which all those who love Christ are joined together is an essential part of the gift of God to men. It is not merely a voluntary society which men agree to form with a common end in view. It makes its members, it is not made by them. There is a divine society, in which God in Christ joins men to Himself, and into that society Christians are born, as truly as a child is born into a family. Leaving on one side all questions of scholarship as to the sense in which it can be said that Jesus Christ founded a Church, here, in essence, we have the Church, the divine society, in which barriers of race, language, wealth, learning, age and sex are all transcended. It is implicit in the central Christian experience of God.

What can we make of principles like these in the world with which we have to do ? Are they too abstract, too general, too remote from our daily necessities ? On the contrary, when we turn to apply them to the world in which we live, they are seen to be extraordinarily far reaching and exceedingly practical. One can hardly help being astonished at the extent to which in modern society, and even in that part of it which is called Christian, these principles have been ignored. They have often been more clearly perceived by men and women not expressly committed to Christian discipleship than by those inside the Church, and it is a main part of the charge made to-day against the organized Church that, although the guardian and trustee of these principles, it has complacently reconciled itself to their denial. It is this denial which is mainly responsible for the weariness and apathy displayed by so many people towards Christian preaching. They are dimly conscious that if Christianity is true it involves an attitude towards the existing order which is in the true sense revolutionary, and they see no sign of the Church trying to turn the world upside down.

Apply these principles to the industrial system which prevails among us to-day. We are confronted by an order of society in which the personality of a large section of the community is not in itself valued at all. The industrial revolution added much to the world's material wealth, but it brought with it, uninfluenced, as it largely was, by Christian principles, a terrible legacy from which we to-day are just beginning to free ourselves. There always have been in the world human beings who were treated, in Aristotle's phrase, as machines with souls, but never has the denial of the rights of human personality been extended over so vast an area as in modern industrialism. The whole passion of labour unrest is generated by this cause. Men will no longer be treated as 'hands,' as mere cogs in a machine, mere appendages to industry, to be taken on and cast off according to the pleasure of others. A careful study of the movement of Labour in the last ten years will show how opinion among working men has developed on this point. The demand has increasingly been for shorter hours rather than higher wages, for a share in control instead of mere bargaining. It has at the bottom been a claim for a higher quality of life. The manual labourer is out for an order of society which puts man first and profits second. He wants his place in the sun, and he wants it for the whole of his class and not merely for himself. It is not always realized how much altruism there is behind a large part of industrial unrest.

The issue therefore is simply this. Modern industrialism entails a large if not complete denial of the rights of human personality ; it is in its insistence on those rights that the strength of the Labour Movement lies, and in the denial of them that the chief danger of social unrest consists. The application of the principles of Christ to this situation involves the cordial admission that Labour is right in its main contention, and that a state of society which rests on the supremacy of profits and places the rights of human personality below money-making, stands self-condemned and can only lead to anarchy and social dissolution. To carry out to the end the Christian doctrine of personality is very difficult, and when once we have begun to tread that path we shall be carried a very long way. Nevertheless it is the principle of social health and the beacon which should guide us in the attempt to find a way through the maze of complicated modern industrial life.

The principle of service is not less denied in our modern society. The Trade Union movement is often criticized for its forgetfulness of the rights of the community, and its lack of the spirit of service towards the community. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the conception of labour as service has largely been denied to the industrial worker by the very existence of the present wage system and of unlimited private profit. Unlimited private profit carries with it grave danger both for Capital and for Labour. It tends to destroy in the mind of the employer or capitalist the idea that his *raison d'être* in life is to serve the community; it tends to debar the worker from feeling that he is an integral and honourable part of the industrial system, because he knows that the average business is not run as a contribution to human needs but as a means of making money. Contrast with the spirit of industrialism, whether among masters or men, the spirit at its best of the professions, and of what are significantly called the 'services.' There are, it is true, great material rewards to be gained here for a very few, but, broadly speaking, these vocations offer only a modest livelihood. They enable a man to feel that he is serving a community, and on the other hand that he is not being treated as a cog in somebody else's machine. No industrial system can be Christian which does not raise industry to this level, and give to all industrial workers the sense of being engaged in honourable community service.

To take another issue, the existence of class distinctions in their present form is a standing challenge to the Christian view of life. No doubt, all societies, ancient and modern, have exhibited differences of function, and those natural human differences of intellect and general ability which make mankind so various and manifold. With this broad human fact class distinctions as they are to be viewed to-day have only a remote connexion. We are confronted by divisions in society which gravely affect the power of the nation to achieve unity. There are great gulfs set between one class and another, and the door is open to tragedies of misunderstanding and ill-will. The situation is aggravated by the fact that to a certain extent the Church has identified itself with one class, or is at least so identified by great masses of the people, that it is a rare thing for employers and employed, rich and poor, to meet together under Christian auspices to thrash out their difficulties together. Christians can never be content with a system of society which accepts this class division as inevitable.

It may seem an irony in the eyes of many if we say that the only remedy lies in a Church. Yet the divine society, of which the Church with all its failings has never lost the image, is the only power which can unite men and overcome the barriers we erect against one another. The society of Jesus, just in proportion as it is true to Him, contains within itself the principle of social health. A society like ours, torn by dissension, suspicion and self-interest, needs for its salvation the example in actual being, and not in word only, of the mode of life and fellowship which is natural to those whom Christ has united in Himself.

This paper is the first of a series. It has only touched on some possible applications of the principles of Jesus to the dangers which menace us at home; others will apply the same principles to those challenging questions which meet us as we take a wider gaze and think of Asia and Africa. The battle for the kingdom of God is a world-wide battle, but the issues are everywhere the same. Too often they are not seen to be the same, and the men who are working for the development of self-government in India, or as missionaries creating in the African a knowledge of what God meant him to be, or striving for economic liberty and honour in Europe, are working in ignorance of one another, or even with hostility and contempt, where they should be conscious of common motive and ideal.

No other spiritual principles but those of Jesus Christ challenge the world's attention to-day. There is need for labour of intellect and fidelity of will and the fiery heart of the lover in the disciples of Christ if the choice is to be forced home. The prophetic word is both 'Repent, or ye shall all likewise perish,' and 'Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.'

WILLIAM PATON

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE BELGIAN CONGO

The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act. By A. Berriedale Keith.
Oxford: Clarendon Press. 15s. 1919.

Professor Berriedale Keith is, to my knowledge, the fourth historian of the Congo in English-speaking countries, the first two being E. D. Morel and Fox Bourne, and the third Sir Harry Johnston. This book more than fulfils the promise of its title, for whilst the Belgian Congo, properly so called, only dates from 1908, the author gives the history of the Congo under Leopold from 1885 to its annexation by Belgium. We therefore have here a complete historical study of the Congo State from its inception as a state as distinct from the International Association. But to-day events move so quickly that it is difficult for a book of this kind to be absolutely up-to-date. The Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, for instance, furnishes new matter for the author's last chapter.

However that may be, this historical manual, published at the end of 1918, will be very useful. As a work of reference it is more generally accessible to the student than Sir Harry Johnston's two large volumes published at a prohibitive price.[1] In an appendix Professor Keith quotes the complete text of the Berlin Act of 1885, Chapter VI of the Brussels Act of July 2, 1890, and the Convention respecting Liquors in Africa signed at Brussels November 3, 1906. Unfortunately he does not give the text of the Colonial Charter of the Belgian Congo promulgated in 1908 which has since undergone interesting modifications. This in an historical handbook is a grave omission, and we hope that in a second edition Professor Keith will give the text of the revised Colonial Charter.[2] There is an excellent index which is a great help to the student, but we regret the absence of an annotated bibliography. The author certainly refers the reader to the White Books and other works which he has consulted, but for the most part he fails to add the name of the editor or the date.

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[1] Mr E. D. Morel has just published a new edition of his *Red Rubber* with two additional chapters which record the events from 1906 to the dissolution of the Congo Reform Association, June 16, 1913.

[2] See the original text of the Colonial Charter in *L'Evolution d'un État philanthropique*, by R. Claparède and Dr Christ-Socin. Geneva: Atar. 1909.

In his account of the beginnings of the État Philanthropique Professor Keith rightly rehabilitates Lord Granville, who alone, or almost alone, has gauged the true character of Leopold II. Yet Lord Granville, amid the cloud of incense which arose from all sides towards the 'Souverain philanthrope,' kept silence: if, fifteen or sixteen years before Sir Charles Dilke, Fox Bourne, the missionaries or E. D. Morel, he had spoken out, the face of the world would have been changed and the history of civilization would not have been soiled by what has justly been called 'the crime of the Congo.'

At this point we might pass on to discuss the psychology of Leopold II, one of the most interesting of moral problems, but it would lead us too far afield. It is enough to say that on this subject Professor Keith has written with acumen. He points out that the king's real intentions were revealed by the substitution of his own name for that of the Association Internationale du Congo, thus showing that the international character of the Association was a mere subterfuge intended to deceive the public. But Leopold gained his end. He was now not only constitutional ruler of little Belgium but also 'sovereign of some 900,000 square miles of territory, and of many millions of people, ruling as an absolute monarch subject only to the restraints imposed *by his own conscience*,[1] public opinion and the positive, but vague, prescriptions of the Berlin Act.' That was in 1885. When, six years later, Leopold, treating the Berlin Act as a scrap of paper, inaugurated the 'system' of land spoliation and forced labour, Professor Keith admits with other historians that his Iago was Captain Coquilhat. But we know that Iago is only heeded when he gives utterance to the secret thoughts of his master. In this way the greatest fraud in history was perpetrated.[2] Elsewhere the author, speaking of the senseless expeditions for the conquest of the Nile, refers to this ambitious Pharaoh as 'foolishly obstinate' and sums up the psychology of the tyrant in two words—'colossal egotism.'

There is a serious gap in the author's account of the origin of the Berlin Act inasmuch as he makes no reference to the Swiss sources.

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[1] The italics are ours.

[2] On page 273 it is said that the system lasted seven years. That is evidently a printer's error for seventeen.

It was the missionary Grundemann[1] who first conceived the idea of an international *entente* between the Powers to ensure freedom of trade, the protection of the aborigines and the prohibition of spirits in the countries discovered by Stanley. M. Grundemann communicated his idea to that true friend of missions, Dr Christ-Socin of Bâle, who in his turn passed it on to M. Moynier of Geneva, a member of the Institut de Droit International. M. Moynier identified himself with the proposal and was the first to draw the attention of the Institute to the question of the Congo Basin, September 5, 1878.[2]

The names of Grundemann and Christ-Socin lead us naturally to missions. Professor Keith does not give these their rightful place. Instead of the special chapter which should have been devoted to them, they occupy a mere subdivision of the chapter on Social Progress—barely three pages on Protestant missions, and as many on Roman Catholic missions. This does not seem adequate in view of the immense services rendered by Christian missions, notably by Protestant missions. In particular we regret that Mrs J. H. Harris, that noble English missionary who spent seven years of her life among the Bamongos, is not even mentioned nor her memorable campaign in Europe and the United States to plead the cause of the natives. No woman since Mrs Beecher-Stowe has accomplished so much for the redemption of the coloured races. Who has done the most to further the study of native languages? Again, the missionaries, amongst others Stapleton, whom the author does not mention either. But Professor Keith is undoubtedly right in demanding equality of treatment for Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, which, in contravention of a clause formulated in the Berlin Act, was not accorded under Leopold's *régime.* In the same way the three pages on the protection of the natives by no means represent the importance of the subject. There is no criticism of the Brussels Official Bureau, and the unofficial leagues for protection of the aborigines which have survived the dissolution of the Congo Reform Association in 1913 are passed over in silence.[3]

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[1] See Warneck's *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift,* Jan. 1878.

[2] For particulars and sequel, see *Evolution* (op. cit.), p. 39.

[3] Besides the Swiss League, founded in 1908, a Bureau international des Ligues pour la défense des Indigènes was created at Geneva in 1913. Its secretary is the Rev. Eug. Mercier-Glardon, son-in-law of M. Aug. Glardon, formerly a missionary in India. See *Un Bureau international pour la défense des Indigènes,* a pamphlet edited at the headquarters of the Bureau, 29 bis Miremont, Geneva. 1917. Fr. 0.50.

Now these two organizations—missions and societies for the protection of the natives—are constituted to advance together, hand in hand, and on them rests our hope of persuading the governments to exercise the trusteeship urged by Mr Harris.[1]

On the other hand, all that the author says of Katanga, its economic development, freedom of trade and administrative decentralization is extremely interesting and complete. The last chapter, on the revision of the Berlin Act, would demand an article to itself. Professor Keith proposes admirable and noteworthy reforms, but he somewhat exaggerates the practical importance of a revision of the International Acts. Sir Sydney Oliver is probably right when he says: 'The authority of such extemporized and unconnected anticipations of the League of Nations has proved in great measure ineffectual, for lack of good-will or good faith in one or other of the parties, or for lack of ability in the concert to enforce the obligations entered into.'[2] This is the exact truth. The problem to be solved is not merely in the intellectual sphere, but is above all one of morals and, may we add, religion. Revision, in the light of more than thirty years' experience—yes; but the best revision without effective control runs the risk of becoming a dead letter. Are not moral and religious control the common task of leagues for the protection of natives and of missionary societies which are both called to cooperate in the new measures of international control which members of the League of Nations seek and, let us hope, will be able to find?

René Claparède

Geneva

AFRICA: SLAVE OR FREE?

Africa: Slave or Free? By J. H. Harris. With an Introduction by Sir Sydney Olivier. London: Student Christian Movement. 6s. net. 1919.

While one reads this book the reflection keeps cropping up in one's mind that it ought to have been written long ago, that instead of being the first, almost, of its kind, it ought to be the twentieth edition of an old book revised and brought up to date, that there ought to be a similar book about every race in the world. One thinks with profound regret of the ignorance those of us who went abroad twenty years ago suffered from, because there was no such book. And one is filled with gratitude for the proof it gives that the Kingdom is really nearer, its laws more clearly understood, its citizens coming to see their common task.

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[1] *Possession or Trusteeship?* London. 1918.

[2] *The League of Nations and Primitive Peoples.* Oxford. 1918.

The strange thing is that Mr Harris tells us very little that has not been said before. And yet the book conveys the impression of a totally new account of a recently discovered world. It is a far from faultless book. Mr Harris's liberties with the English language may encourage the pedantic to believe that he takes liberties with African facts. He does not. There is more in it of the whole truth about Africa, and of the whole truth about missions in Africa, than in any other book.

There is one curious omission. The discussion of polygamy is fair and the conclusions are wise. But Mr Harris omits to mention that in every country in the world where a count has been made the male birth-rate is higher than the female. That fact alone is decisive against polygamy. The excess of females over males in certain countries is due mainly to war and partly to our soulless industrial system. Both these causes operate in Africa and both of them are operated in our time by the ambition and avarice of Europeans. But for these factors of the problem, polygamy would soon die out in Africa as it has elsewhere. So that once again, as Mr Harris has so often known to be the case, Africans dance to music played in Europe.

When one realizes how fantastically untrue are the ideas of foreign mission work that prevail at home both among its supporters and among its enemies, one is tempted to wish that none should be allowed to subscribe without passing an examination with this book as a set subject. Can Mr Harris not cut it down by half and publish it for a shilling so that it may reach more than the enthusiasts?

Mr Harris wisely allows the facts, as a rule, to speak for themselves. Pioneer books like his deal more usefully with experience than with inferences from it. But the unstated thesis of the book is plainly visible between the lines. One cannot pick up a newspaper without finding it there too. And as we read the Scriptures themselves it shines on every page. Is the Gospel to have free course and be glorified? We wish and strive that all should hear the Gospel. But is that Gospel for the whole of life or only for a part? In this Review one wrote recently that the spheres of religion and politics are distinct. Are they really so in a world in which there is nothing that is not to be put under Him? Is 'religion' less than the whole of life? Is the programme of the Christian Church less than the Kingdom on earth as in heaven? Is it not possible, nay, is it not certain, that we cannot obey God's will, even that we cannot understand it, except equally in all the multifarious phases of our life? As generations have passed pieces of life have become 'secular' that once were 'sacred,' notably the care of the sick; similarly in thought does the 'natural' crowd out the supernatural. Surely it is plain that religion must either die in a corner or live in all human life. In Africa the newly planted Church shows, as it did two thousand years ago, that ignorance and disease are not merely politics, economics, science, but the arena in which the Spirit of God strives with men. The sheet in which Peter saw food forbidden him again descends on a Church which thinks politics, industry, art, science, common and unclean.

FULANI BIN FULANI

MOSLEM AND MISSIONARY

PAN-ISLAM. By G. WYMAN BURY. London: Macmillan. 6s. net. 1919.

THERE is a distinction to be drawn between an actuating sentiment inherent in such a religion as Islam and an organized attempt to give it expression. Regarded as the former, Pan-Islam, defined as 'a movement to weld together Moslems throughout the world, regardless of nationality' is certainly 'no new thing—it is as old as the Hejira,' though it might be added that in those early days from the circumstances of the case no such movement was needed. Regarded as the latter, it may be, and has been, questioned whether there is such a thing as Pan-Islam. The great cleavage down the centre of the Moslem world gives sufficient answer. What is, however, a really serious factor is what is more accurately described as the Pan-Turanian movement, the goal of which is to purify and strengthen the Turkish nationality within the Ottoman Empire, and to link up the Ottoman Turks with the other Turks in the world. To gain this end the Pan-Islamic sentiment has been cleverly exploited, first by Abdul Hamid, then by the Young Turks, and finally by the proclamation of a *jihad* in the recent war.

Mr Bury is chiefly concerned with the more popular use of his title, and even so leaves us wondering a little why he chose it. There is no need, however, to quarrel with a title when we have a book full of interest, attractively written by one who tells all he has to say at first hand, with a quarter of a century's experience behind him. The narrative of his Red Sea experiences during the war throws a flood of light on a number of things—the actual course of events, our Arabian policy traditional and new, Arab life and character, and so on.

But it is to the second part of the book that this review must naturally pay more attention, for there Mr Bury expounds at length his views on 'Moslem and Missionary.' Here he stands as a critic, but withal not an unfriendly critic. The arguments are not new: the advantage to Islam from its comparative unity as opposed to the manifold divisions of Christianity, the deduction from the rapid spread of Islam in Africa that it is better suited to black tribes, the questioning of our right to interfere with other people's faith, the disingenuousness of much missionary propaganda that plays upon ignorance at home. Little good would be served by combating these points in detail. The answer can only be given by history. The sting of all such criticisms lies in the element of truth that they contain, and it is neither honest nor serviceable merely to brush them aside. We may well learn from the House of Commons the value of a strong opposition, and devote ourselves not so much to rebutting arguments as to setting the Church of Christ at home and abroad on an unshakable foundation. Our object is nothing less than to undermine the solid foundations of many centuries on which the superstructures of Islam and paganism have been built. The object will be justified when the world has found something finer and truer in their place. That this will be the final result we are firmly convinced because we believe in the kingdom of Christ, but to persuade our critics calls for a shifting of the controversy away from the well-worn themes here discussed to principles deeper still. Meantime the clearer the goal, the more constant must be the examination and adjustment of present methods; and that is going on a great deal more than our critics are aware.

Mr Bury has much good to say of medical and educational missions. He notes, for instance, that the Church Missionary Society is 'chiefly distinguished in Egypt for its medical work, which is excellent and has an extraordinarily wide range.' In India, without specifying any society, he says 'their highly organized medical and educational missions do excellent work—the zenana mission is, in itself, a justification of Christian mission work in India to any humanitarian with some knowledge of zenana conditions.'

We must quote one paragraph rather more at length. 'There is no better appeal than the life, works and conduct of one who professes and practises Christianity. Even if he makes no single convert he has leavened the population around him with the dignity and prestige of his creed which has produced such a type. Unfortunately such results cannot be scheduled in mission reports, though they are real enough and well worth living for, whether a man be a missionary or not.'

And lastly—though one wonders how far in these days the first part of the sentence is true—'No sincere religious effort requires an apology, and if it is not sincere, no apology suffices.'

R. F. McNEILE

UPPINGHAM

KOREAN BUDDHISM

KOREAN BUDDHISM. By FREDERICK STARR. Boston, Mass.: Marshall Jones Co. $2.00 net. 1918.

DR HULBERT in his *History of Korea* printed in 1905, characterized the movement for a Buddhist revival in Korea in 1902 as 'a ludicrous attempt, because Buddhism in Korea is dead.' In his *Buddhism as a Religion* Dr Hackmann wrote as follows:

> It would not be impossible for Korean Buddhism, owing to the last change in the history of the country, to take a new lease of life by means of the help given to it by Japanese Buddhism. For some time past the Japanese have made efforts in this direction. Japanese Buddhist monasteries have been founded in Korea, Japanese monks have been sent over to instruct and stimulate their Korean brethren in the faith. Likewise they have transferred Korean monks to Japan for them to be brought up there. . . . One may say in advance that these efforts will be expended on a very hard field of labour, for though it cannot be maintained that Buddhism is entirely spent there, yet it has certainly wasted away to a great extent.

The chief interest of Dr Starr's book is that it tells in some detail of the awakening of Korean Buddhism and of its attempt under Japanese and native auspices to reorganize itself. He shows us, for instance, that the monasteries of Korea have united to elect a president whose whole time is devoted to the interests of united

Korean Buddhism at the head office in Seoul. In the same city they have started a theological seminary of Buddhism, where he found sixty-five students at work and where he believes there will one day be hundreds. He notes also that a magazine has been conducted in the interests of Korean Buddhism for the last six years, and it is sad yet noteworthy that its editor is the son of a Presbyterian church elder, and was educated in Roman Catholic schools. A further interesting and significant phase of this Buddhist revival is the printing of Buddhist books in the *On-Mun* script, with the result that they are accessible to the common people. Even the cinematograph is being used for Buddhist propaganda. Our author saw 15,000 people assembled in the grounds of one of the great monasteries in the south, and they were to be entertained by moving pictures of the life of Gautama Buddha. These, as he remarks, are not symptoms of death, and he concludes this chapter by showing that the Buddhism of Korea is still Korean and not Japanese:

> I can imagine nothing that would be more dangerous to Japanese control than a strong and vital Korean Buddhism that was hostile to Japan. On the other hand, I can think of nothing that would be of greater help to Japan than a Korean Buddhism developed among those people by their own priests, and friendly to Japan. What Korean Buddhism is to be in the future depends upon its relation to the Government now there. If Korean Buddhism accepts and co-operates with the Japanese control it will become the mightiest factor that can be devised to make Japan's hold upon the peninsula secure. If hostile to Japan when the crisis comes, as it surely will come, when Japan will be tried out again, and once and for all, on Korean soil, Korean Buddhism may be the decisive element in that moment of test.

In these days of the rising tide of nationalism it is not likely that Korean Buddhists will allow their religion to be 'Japanned.' Certainly the Christian Church needs to keep its eyes upon these signs of new life in Korean Buddhism. The production of good Christian literature is one of the needs which seems most urgent, for the people are puzzled and eager to read.

Dr Starr's book consists of three lectures, one on the history, a second on the condition, and a third upon the art of Korean Buddhism. With the second we have already dealt, and of the remaining two, that on the art is much the more valuable, containing a good deal of fresh material, whilst that on the history contains very little that is new. The excellent photographs taken for the author by a Japanese photographer are also a valuable feature of this book, and the student of Mahayāna Buddhism, who has long been puzzled by the strange world of mythological Buddhas, Bodhi-sattvas, gods and demons, will find here a great deal to help him, and will realize that in Korea, as everywhere else, Buddhism has made terms with the older animism.

We are grateful, then, for this book on a little-known subject; yet we may be permitted to offer two friendly criticisms. In the first place it would have been well worth Dr Starr's while to have worked up his lectures into a somewhat more systematic form, and to have made them still more worth the rather high price of two dollars. And in the second place we would say that he would probably get more information and do more good to the Buddhist monks of Korea if he did not go accompanied by a Japanese policeman! No wonder that in one case at any rate 'the monks received us coldly.' Again, his method of calling the monks to order and then delivering a moral exhortation to them, whilst it seems to have succeeded in bringing them to heel, probably did little towards opening their hearts either to the West or to the Christian religion. When are we of the West going to learn this lesson? Let Dr Starr sit at the feet of eastern scholars. Perhaps he will one day collaborate with a Korean scholar and give us a fuller and more detailed treatment of his important theme; meantime he has done a really useful service to students and missionaries.

K. J. Saunders

London

PSALMS OF MARĀṬHĀ SAINTS

Psalms of Marāṭhā Saints. By Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt. 'Heritage of India' Series. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. net. 1919.

Into the small compass of less than 100 pages Dr Macnicol has collected a 'rosary' of 108 poems translated from six poet-saints of the Marāṭhā renaissance period (thirteenth to seventeenth centuries A.D.), together with a very useful Introduction. This Introduction, forming nearly one quarter of the book, contains short biographical notes of the six poets; some account of the Bhakti school and their place in it; and a comparison of Hebrew and Hindu psalmists.

All of these six were devotees of the god Viṭhobā, whose well-known shrine at Paṇḍharpūr on the river Bhīma (about 100 miles S.E. of Poona) is visited by thousands of pilgrims every year. They lived during the period when vigorous attempts were being made to establish the Bhakti teaching of loving devotion to a personal God, in place of the Advait doctrine of non-duality and consequent world-illusion, and many of the poems translated here reflect a deep devotion to God, as for instance :

Bound with cords of love I go,
By Hari captive led,
Mind and speech and body, lo,
To him surrenderèd.

He shall rule my life for he
Is all-compassionate.
His is sole authority,
And we his will await.

Tukārām, No. lxiv, p. 72.

A feature in a number of the poems which strikes the reader at once is the conception of God as a mother. In India love is considered the attribute of motherhood rather than fatherhood. ‘ O Mother Pāṇḍuraṅg,’ cries Nāmdev (No. xii, p. 43), and Janābī (No. xxv, p. 50) addresses God as ‘ Lady Viṭhā.’

This book will be of value to all students of Hinduism, especially of the Bhakti school, for it reveals the very thoughts and prayers of the men and women (two of these six were women) who founded and established that school. But, chiefly, its value will be felt by missionaries who work in Western India where the influence of Jñāneśvar, Nāmdev and, above all, Tukārām, is still so great. To get a real insight into the minds of the people and to have some knowledge of non-Christian religion at its best, not only at its worst, are indispensable if missionary work is to be undertaken in the only right way. Dr Macnicol's book should prove most helpful along both lines ; and not its least useful work will surely be to drive all who are able to do so to read these poets in the original Marāṭhī.

As a missionary from Western India the reviewer would like to see some of these hymns used in the worship of the Christian Church in India. Such an one as the following might well express the feeling of a Christian congregation better than some of the English or American hymns used so widely at present :

The duty of the man of faith
Is trust and loyalty,
A purpose hid within his heart
That cannot movèd be.

A steadfast faith and passionless
  In Viṭṭhal that abides,
A faith that not an instant strays
  To any god besides.

Who that is such a one as that
  Was ever cast away?
Never has such a tale been told,
  Never, I Tuka, say.

Tukārām, No. lxv, p. 72.

Or again, to take two verses from a poem of Nāmdev's:

As chiming anklets sweetly ring,
  So rings thy name abroad;
To human spirits hungering
  Thou givest peace with God.

Thou on thy shoulders carrying
  All the world's load of care,—
To thee 'tis such a little thing
  My trouble too to bear!

Nāmdev, No. xii, p. 43.

There is a wealth of love and faith and devotion in these poems which ought not to go unknown or disregarded by either the Indian Christian or the European missionary. And if the bookshelf of the latter does not yet contain Jñāndev and Nāmdev, Muktābāī and Janābāī, Ekanāth and Tukārām, he cannot do better than make a beginning by buying (and reading) this book of *Psalms*.

Nor is it only the student of Hinduism and the missionary to whom this collection of poems should make its appeal. If any one has a young son or brother just starting life in India as a civil servant, an engineer, a teacher or a business man, etc., and wants to give him 'something to read on the voyage,' he could not do better than give this slender little book. By the time the recipient lands in India he will probably have a very different and far truer idea of what lies at the heart of an Indian than he had on leaving England.

We hope *Psalms of Marāṭhā Saints* will have a wide sale.

M. M. Underhill

Oxford

A SEARCHLIGHT ON THE INDIAN MASS MOVEMENT PROBLEM

Report of the Mass Movement Commission: Wesleyan Methodist Provincial Synod, South India. Mysore: Wesleyan Methodist Press. 100 pp. 1919.

Happy the mission that possesses the reserve energy and the driving power to carry through within the space of a few weeks an inquiry such as this. Undertaken on behalf of a single Wesleyan mission in the Deccan it has laid under deep obligation all who are wrestling with the problems of the mass movement. These hundred pages do not contain a dull paragraph, and overflow with interest and suggestion. They will be the envy of some; they may cause others wholly to revise their methods and their plannings; they will put encouragement and definite purpose into the hearts of many. The Commission only started operations on January 26, 1918: by the middle of March thirteen delegations had visited as many mass movement areas from Tinnevelly to the Panjab: by mid-April the Report was complete. No mass movement worker can neglect it without loss.

The embarrassment of overwhelming numerical success—that is everywhere the unsolved enigma of the mass movement; and the greater the success the greater the embarrassment so long as we are compelled to continue on present lines. Here in the Hyderabad Mission we find a church of some 33,000 members, concerning whom it may be said that adequate but not excessive provision has been made for the pastoral care of all and for the education of the rising generation. The yearly contribution of this third of a lakh of Christians varies from four to six annas per head, and the Commission estimates that under existing conditions it can never exceed eight annas. To maintain the present efficiency of pastoral and educational care cannot cost less than five times as much. The Wesleyan mission has by a splendid effort kept pace with the rapid growth in numbers. But the limit must inevitably be reached and reached soon. What is to happen when the present numbers are doubled or quadrupled as they soon may be? Where lies the way of deliverance and advance? That was the vital problem which directly led to the appointment of this Commission.

Various plans and palliatives are examined. There is the Ongole method of the Baptists in the Telugu Mission, and the Chaudhri system of the American Episcopal Methodists in North India. Little can be gained by observing the ways of Hindus, for they possess no real ministry of a pastoral nature. The Report discusses the advantages and the dangers of endowing the village pastorate with a plot of land and letting the man in pastoral care cultivate it himself; it recommends cautious experiment in this direction. More important as a matter of definite policy is the insistence upon concentration. At present there is one village 'pastor' to 100 Christians: he could shepherd 300 if they were near him; and thus the proportionate cost per Christian would be reduced. But when all has been said and attempted on these lines the problem remains still far from solution. The ultimate conclusion reached is that the principal hindrance to self-support, and therefore to indefinite extension, is the economic condition of these classes, and that the remedy which alone will emancipate them from their economic servitude is education. There follows a careful survey of the different types of education which the community requires, and the practical suggestion that all village evangelists shall take four instead of three years' training at the Medak Seminary the better to qualify them as teachers.

It is not that the mission has not made gallant attempts already in the matter of education. North Indian students of the Report will read with envious feelings of the 300 village schools in this comparatively small area, staffed by 350 teachers, a majority of whom are the wives of the village evangelists, while less than five per cent of the whole are non-Christians. It has indeed to be acknowledged that fully eighty per cent of the scholars in these village schools are in the alphabet class, and only eight per cent have passed the first standard. More solid, however, is the splendid total of 1100 boys and girls gathered into the headquarter boarding schools—about one in thirty of the whole community. Most hopeful of all is the great seminary at Medak which has trained two-thirds of the 317 evangelists now in service. It has at present on its rolls over 200 young men in training to become the pastors and teachers of village congregations, while the wives of many of them are receiving suitable instruction at the same time.

The form of the Report leaves nothing to be desired. After a valuable preface and introduction (pp. 5–10) there follow the report (pp. 11–55), and then the summary in four pages of bold type, with the definite recommendations in italics (pp. 56–60). Section IV of the summary opens with what is perhaps the kernel of the whole matter. 'This ecclesiastic inquiry has merged into an economic inquiry. The fact of poverty must be recognized and the economic conditions must be changed.' Then the paragraphs which follow sketch out the scheme proposed for effecting the imperative amelioration. The first of the appendices (pp. 61–91) is a digest of the evidence collected by the delegates, where the writer of this review, with his heart in the Panjab, notes with sad humiliation the references to the backward state of mass movement organization and work in that province, and the expression of amazement that the Church Missionary Society, with a Christian community of 15,000, possesses only forty-two schools of all types, with 7600 non-Christian and only 1380 Christian scholars. 'It appears as if the children's bread were being given to strangers. Probably this is a situation created by a sudden mass movement in an old-established educational mission.' The other appendices contain suggestive statistical tables and a report on the Jalna mission bank (pp. 92–100).

E. F. E. WIGRAM

LONDON

RENÉE DE BENOIT

RENÉE DE BENOIT, NÉE VAN BERCHEM: Souvenirs et Lettres. Morges: Monsieur G. Secretan, pasteur. Fr. 2.50. 1920.

RENÉE DE BENOIT was one of the eight children of Colonel Paul van Berchem of Crans, on the borders of Lake Leman. After a childhood of singular charm and happiness, she heard in early life a call to devote herself to missionary work, and with that in view entered the Bon Secours at Geneva and qualified as a nurse. On the outbreak of war she gave herself to the care of the wounded and disabled; while engaged in this service Mlle van Berchem met Dr Pierre de Benoit, who like herself was called to be a missionary. They were married in June 1916; in the following January, braving the terrors of the submarine, they set sail for India. Dr de Benoit and his young wife worked together in South India for just two years; then, having finished the first stage of their work in regard to plans for the Swiss Kanarese Mission, they returned with their baby girl to Switzerland for final arrangements as to the establishment of the mission. Within a fortnight of her return to her home and her own people at Crans, the young wife and mother died of influenza and pneumonia at the age of twenty-seven.

The story of this short and happy life is told with reticence and simplicity, mainly by means of extracts from letters to parents, sisters or friends. The beautiful face shown in the three portraits which enrich the little volume reflects the joyousness, the peace, the freedom which these letters reveal. Yet from her early years this gracious girl and woman faced the realities of life and shrank from no cost or pain. The Indian letters in particular are full of courage, discernment and faith. The influence which this volume is bound to exert upon young and cultured lives will be the best reward of those who have shared the souvenirs and letters with readers outside the circle of personal friends.

G. A. GOLLOCK

WIMBLEDON

MARKS OF A 'WORLD CHRISTIAN'

MARKS OF A WORLD CHRISTIAN. By DANIEL JOHNSON FLEMING. New York: Association Press. $1. 1919.

THIS is one of the 'Everyday Life' books—a series familiar to many on this side of the Atlantic because of *The Meaning of Prayer* and other works of Dr Fosdick. Its form therefore will be familiar. Like Dr Fosdick, the author breaks up his studies for daily use; it is not easy to move freely within these limits, but Dr Fleming succeeds admirably in preserving the unity of his thought amid the frequent halts. If one calls to mind *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*, and at the same time the books of Dr Fosdick, he will have some idea of the range and method of this work.

It is a sustained plea for the larger self—a self that will correspond to the claims of the new world. We need a consciousness alive to the significance of our membership one of another; and the expanding world demands an expansion of the soul. Every new interest is an addition to one's self; every new activity an expansion of the self. Self is not to be treated as complete or perfectly fulfilled. It is in the making. The challenge of the moment to men is to become 'cosmo-Christian'; it is a challenge not to the Church only but to the individual member. 'On the psychological side the conception of the larger self will be a summons to each one to acquire a disposition of the mind which will be hospitable in the face of each new demand on one's interests.' A call to the international heart and mind!

From this starting-point the author proceeds to discuss in detail such marks of the world Christian as 'Respect for the Capacity of other Peoples,' 'Responsiveness to Human Need,' 'Faith in the

Pursuant Love of God' and other kindred themes. In the chapter upon the Pursuant Love of God he shows how the Christian finds in the character of God, revealed in Christ, a 'forth-going, self-sacrificing, resourceful, constructive love'; and this he contrasts with the characteristic things in Islam, Buddhism and Confucianism. It is no small part of the power of the book that it draws so constantly from the missionary experience and study of its author. He has a range of knowledge far wider than that of most writers of study text-books, and he draws upon his stores most lavishly.

The dynamic for the life sufficient for such a time he finds in the experience of the treasure in Christ Jesus; with that experience come zeal and courage and readiness to pay the cost.

It is hard to do justice to the range covered by this little book. Almost every phase of missionary life comes under review; and the intricacies of the problem are set out briefly but clearly. The author, with all his eager enthusiasm, has no illusions upon the cost to be paid. Society must be ready to pay the cost of readjustment according to Christian principles; each nation must ask whether it is willing to pay the cost of being Christian. And much here depends upon the West; it is one of the many admirable qualities of this review that it recognizes the inter-relation between the social order in all lands and the unity of life in spite of its many departments.

The book closes upon the note of vocation, which is treated in a wise and timely way. The reader will sometimes find the language strained and the illustrations too redundant; something too is lost in the anxiety of the author to reach a very wide circle of readers; he is not entirely free from the danger which besets religious teachers from the argument by illustrations; the book too might be even better than it is if it covered rather less ground.

But these are only slight flaws, if they are flaws, in a book which will prove an inspiration to all who will use it as a daily guide for their reading of the Bible and their thought during the nine weeks for which it is planned. It will open up in the Holy Scriptures even to careful students many fresh approaches to the missionary problem. And as it always happens wherever a good book upon missions is studied, the reader will not be allowed to escape from the urgent call of God to a life more worthy of these tremendous days. It will cost much to be 'a world Christian.'

EDWARD SHILLITO

BUCKHURST HILL

SHORTER NOTICES

The Five Lambeth Conferences. Compiled under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury (London: S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d. net. 1920). This volume, especially in view of the near approach of the sixth of these great gatherings, is timely and interesting. It does not fall within the scope of the Review to trace the growth of the moral authority of the Lambeth Conference nor to discuss its action regarding great questions of church order or policy. But the missionary significance of these Conferences, which is outstanding and has steadily progressed, calls for notice. Great moral issues, such as polygamy and inter-racial relationships, have received attention. The Fourth Conference in 1897 was steeped in the spirit of world evangelization. The last Conference, in 1908, dealt with the growth of the Church on racial and national lines in Asia, Africa and America. Such subjects as baptism, the adaptation of the prayer book, marriage problems, relation of the Church to native customs, self-government and self-support, were discussed. The 1908 Report concludes with a recognition of 'the strong desire evidenced in various parts of the mission field for a deeper union between Christian men and women divided on matters of moment but united by a yet stronger bond in their love of God in Jesus Christ our Lord,' and states that 'the foreign mission field is likely to react upon the Church at home by teaching a truer proportion, widening the outlook and strengthening the spiritual vision.' And all this in order that 'in the East Christianity may root without the perpetuation from generation to generation of the divisions of the West.' It is just at this point of aspiration in the Conference of 1908 that we may hope to hear the Conference of 1920 speak with a clear and ringing voice.

The War and Missions in the East. By A. J. Macdonald (London: Robert Scott. 7s. 6d. net. 1919). Mr Macdonald's former book, *Trade, Politics and Christianity in the East*, was reviewed in our issue for April 1917. His present volume shows the same careful research, the same sound generalization and the same zeal for truth and fair-play. Owing to a call to work abroad as a chaplain to the forces, Mr Macdonald has been unable to avail himself of certain important sources of information or to bring his chapters up to date. But he has not left the reader to discover these deficiencies for himself; they are writ large in the preface, and the book proves to be better than its author's apology would suggest. Those who can add the later material which is essential for a proportionate view of the subject dealt with will find this well-written volume worth having.

The Government of India. By J. Ramsay Macdonald (London: Swarthmore Press. 10s. 6d. net. 1919). This really valuable book suffers by reason of the fact that it was, in bulk, written before the war, and while mention is made of the recent Constitutional Reform scheme of the Government, no detailed estimate of it is given. The book has therefore a belated appearance which it does not in fact deserve, for it deals with the principles of government and its conclusions are of value although they are not specifically related to the latest political developments. Mr Macdonald's position is throughout that of the shrewd and well-informed critic, who sees the weaknesses of the bureaucratic government in India and sees its strength and virtues too. He is probably the only man writing on these questions from a definitely Labour standpoint who has had considerable access to authoritative information, and his views are therefore of great importance to students of present-day politics. Students of missions will find much matter of interest in Chapter xvii, Religion and Nationalism. The author attempts a critical estimate of the Samajes, especially the Arya Samaj, of which he gives a temperate account; expounds the relation between Indian nationalism and a revivified Hinduism; and ventures a judgment on the work of such 'neo-missionaries' (so he styles them) as Dr Farquhar. He gives a good deal of space to the mass movement among the outcastes, and shows warm appreciation of it as an economic, social, intellectual and religious revolution. The author's comments on the relation of the outcaste community to the whole structure of Indian society are penetrating.

History of Zionism, 1600–1918. By Nahum Sokolow. Vol. II, with an Introduction by M. Stéphen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs for France (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1919. 21s. net). The first volume of this important work was reviewed in the October issue. This volume is in three parts: chapters bringing up the history of Zionism to the outbreak of the war in 1914; a hundred and sixty pages showing the development of Zionism during the war until 1918, including the laying the foundation stone of the Hebrew university at Jerusalem; and a most valuable appendix giving the original documents of many phases in the history of Zionism. There are also full indices of the pictures (with some account of the sources whence they are derived) and of persons and things, together with an elaborate bibliography. Altogether no student of the subject can afford to be without what is, without doubt, by far the fullest work on Zionism that has ever been published. Two further volumes are promised dealing with the history of the movement in other lands besides England and France, though the writer has not strictly limited himself to these two countries so far.

Madagascar: A Century of Adventure. By Robert Griffith (London: L.M.S. 1s. 6d. net. 1919). The approaching centenary of Christian missions in Madagascar ensures a wide welcome for this well-written handbook. Whilst mainly dealing with the work of the London Missionary Society, to which he belongs, Mr Griffiths writes in a spirit of fellowship with other missions, his aim being to present the needs of Madagascar and its promise as a mission field to the whole Christian Church. The thrilling story of opposition, of success, of persecution, of annexation and resulting difficulties—especially in regard to education—and of the ultimate triumph of Christianity is one of the brightest and most instructive chapters in the history of missions, yet what has been accomplished does not obscure the urgency of what remains to be done. Five coloured maps illustrate the political and tribal divisions of the island and the incidence of missionary work. In any future issue it would be well to remove a discrepancy by which in one map the Anglican mission is shown as having three stations in the centre of the island, whereas in another, dated 1919, only the territory occupied by that mission on the eastern side of the island is shown.

Croquis du Zambèze. By Alfred Casalis (Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. 5 fr. 1919). The author of this charming series of pen-pictures is well known in Great Britain as one of the secretaries of the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris. For many years he was a missionary in Basutoland, and is now on the eve of returning to that most interesting mission field. Just before the war he spent ten months in visiting the mission on the Upper Zambesi, which is so closely associated with the name of François Coillard. From there these letters were written to his family and friends. They form not only the record of his journeys from place to place, his meetings with the various missionaries, with the native chiefs and their people, but also the media through which we see the ever-changing problems of the mission. Through his eyes, too, we see the wonders and humours of the life of the villages and of wild nature around them, sketched with precision and delicacy of touch.

The Love Letters of a Chinese Lady. By Elizabeth Cooper (Edinburgh: Foulis. 6s. net. 1919). As a rule the heart of China, especially the heart of a Chinese woman, seems difficult to find. In these intimate letters, written by a Chinese lady many years ago to her husband, a high official absent with his royal master on a trip round the world, we are admitted to a cultured Chinese home, and look out thence with the writer on life. Both pen and pictures drawn from paintings by old Chinese masters, fairly transport us into China, to the presence of Kweilin, the writer of the letters, the 'August Mother'—stern ruler of the women of the household—and the frivolous new sister-in-law, Li-ti. The lesser incidents and the greater tragedies of this Chinese home are in essence the same as our own, but they are set in surroundings so entrancingly fresh and novel that they hold us in a spell.

Streams in the Desert: A Picture of Life in Livingstonia. By J. H. Morrison (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 4s. net. 1920). Readers of Mr Morrison's previous book, *On the Trail of the Pioneers*, will know what to expect in this volume. And they will not be disappointed. Written in a literary style full of force and charm, the record of the author's short visit to Nyasaland on the eve of the war is marked by shrewd insight, glowing colour, incisive humour, genial sympathy and many a touch of manly emotion. Something of his love of Africa and the African must inevitably penetrate the mind of even the most prejudiced reader. This is a book to give to good men who scoff at missions or to those who have never been stirred to interest in what missions claim to be and do.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The article on the Interchurch World Movement was written by the Editor of the Review during a two months' visit to America in the early part of 1920.

The Rev. H. A. Popley of Erode went to India under the London Missionary Society in 1901. He has been closely associated with the evangelistic movement in South India.

The Rev. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt., of Poona, has been a missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland for over twenty years. His latest work, *Psalms of Marāṭhā Saints*, is reviewed on page 298.

The Rev. J. C. Winslow, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has worked at Ahmadnagar in the Bombay Presidency since 1914.

Mr Sam Higginbottom is Principal of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, formerly a department of the Ewing Christian College in that city. He went to India in 1903.

Miss B. D. Gibson is associated with the international work carried on in the office of the Review.

The Rev. Henri A. Junod, of the Mission Romande, has worked for many years at Lourenço Marques in Portuguese East Africa. He is a well-known authority on African tribal customs and beliefs.

The Rev. WILLIAM PATON is Missionary Secretary of the British Student Christian Movement. He recently spent eighteen months in the heart of Indian missions.

The writers of book reviews are M. René Claparède, President of La Ligue Suisse pour la défense des indigènes ; Fulani bin Fulani, long a resident in Eastern Tropical Africa ; the Rev. R. F. McNeile, formerly of the C.M.S. Egypt Mission, now a master at Uppingham ; Mr Kenneth J. Saunders, formerly on the staff of Trinity College, Kandy, now one of the Literary Secretaries (Buddhism) of the Indian National Y.M.C.A. ; Miss M. M. Underhill, of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission in Western India since 1904 ; the Rev. E. F. E. Wigiam, formerly of Lahore, now a Secretary of the Church Missionary Society ; and the Rev. E. Shillito, Deputy Chairman of the Board of Directors of the London Missionary Society.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editor has the advantage of the co-operation of Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai), Mr Jakob E. Lundahl (Stockholm), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Professor D. Julius Richter (Berlin), Mr Kenneth Saunders (Rangoon), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A Lukyn Williams, D.D. (London).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 320.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
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V. Works of Reference
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XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

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(*General*)

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The Jews

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WHERE ARE THE MISSIONARIES? Sidney J. W. Clark. Map and Diagram. 16 pp. London: Marshall. 1s. 1919. *303.*

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†RUNDSCHAU. EMM, 1919 (Oct.), 293–300; (Nov.), 324–31; (Dec.), 358–62. *306.*

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VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

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VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

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†A CENTRAL LANGUAGE SCHOOL FOR MISSIONARIES. Edgar M. Wilson. HF, 1919 (Oct.), 365–70. *313.*

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VIII. Missionary Methods

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†THE EVANGELIZATION OF INDIA. H. A. Popley. EW, 1920 (Jan.), 50–64. *316.*

†EXPERIENCE AND PROBLEMS OF EVANGELISM IN INDIA, 1919. H. A. Popley. HF, 1919 (Nov.), 407–24. *317.*

See also *224* (Japan); *260* (Mass Movements, India).

Christian Education

Japan

†TWO VIEWS ABOUT A CENTRAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY FOR JAPAN. I. Dr Schneder. II. Dr M. Takagi. JE, 1919 (Nov.), 378–84. *318.*

See also *224* (New Situation).

China

†THIRD ANNUAL TEACHERS' CONFERENCE, TUNGHSIEN, CHIHLI. A. A. Bullock. *Educational Review* (China), 1919 (Oct.), 340–8. *319.*

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†KEEPING PACE IN THE KINDERGARTEN. F. Catherine Bryan. *Educational Review* (China), 1919 (Oct.), 363–71. *321.*

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†CHRISTIANITY AND AGRICULTURE IN INDIA. S. Higginbottom. IRM, 1920 (Apr.), 252–9. *322.*

†HOW TO INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF CHRISTIAN TEACHERS IN SECONDARY AND COLLEGE EDUCATION. By a Manager and Principal. HF, 1919 (Dec.), 447–51. *323.*

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Africa

See *283* (Central Africa); *296* (Madagascar).

Industrial Missions

†Industrial and Vocational Education in the Philippines. Hugo H. Miller. *Educational Review* (China), 1919 (Oct.), 314–25. *324.*

See also *254* (Indian Village Economics); *322* (Agriculture, India).

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†The Distribution of Medical Missions. Burton St John. MRW, 1919 (Oct.), 735–9. *325.*

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†Medical Missions and Schools in China. Dr H. J. Smyly. *Student Movement*, 1919 (Oct.), 8–9; (Nov.), 24–5. *326.*

†Efficient Mission Hospitals. Harold Balme, M.D. *China Medical Journal*, 1919 (July), 364–9; (Nov.), 567–74. *327.*

Bible Circulation and Christian Literature

†The Need for Arabic Christian Literature. Arthur T. Upson. MW, 1920 (Jan.), 42–8. *328.*

See also *200* (Survey).

IX. The Church in the Mission Field

The Eucharist in India. A Plea for a Distinctive Liturgy for the Indian Church. J. C. Winslow, J. E. G. Festing, E. C. Ratcliff and D. R. Athavale. With a Preface by the Bishop of Bombay. xxviii + 116 pp. Appendices. London: Longmans. 7s. 6d. net. 1920. *329.*

The Bishop of Bombay in the preface states that this book is both revolutionary and important. A review is in preparation.

†Indian Christianity and some Notable Indian Christians. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt. IRM, 1920 (Apr.), 214–28. *329a.*

†The Relation of Church and Mission in India. A Group Study. IRM, 1920 (Apr.), 229–46. *330.*

†Transfer of Responsibility from the Mission to the Church. Bishop Azariah. *Christian Patriot*, 1919 (Oct. 25), 5–7. *331.*

†Government of the Indian Christian Church. I. Cannaday. HF, 1919 (Dec.), 451–61. *332.*

†A General Survey of the Indian Churches. M.S., *Christian Patriot*, 1919 (Oct. 11), 5–7; (Oct. 18), 6. *333*

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†A Vision of the Indian Church. J. C. Winslow. IRM, 1920 (Apr.) 247–51. *334.*

†The Problem of Christianity in India. Manilal Parekh. *Indian Social Reformer*, 1919 (Nov. 16), 173–5; (Nov. 23), 187–9. *335.*

See also *Indian Social Reformer*, 1919 (Dec. 21), 252–4.

Der chinesische Prediger. C. J. Voskamp. Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner Ev. Miss.-Ges. M. 3.85. 1919. *336.*

†Along Union Lines in Korea Mission Work. H. E. Blair. Louise McCully. *Korea Mission Field*, 1919 (Nov.), 223–9. *337.*

†Should Heathen Games be Preserved in the Christian Community? A Bantu Speaks. Henri A. Junod. IRM, 1920 (Apr.), 274–80. *338.*

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X. Co-operation and Unity

†Kikuyu. Bishop of Zanzibar. *Central Africa*, 1920 (Jan.), 9–12; (Feb.), 29–31. *339.*

†Problems of Reunion. Harold C. Spackman. JE, 1919 (Oct.), 345–8. *340.*

†The Proposed Corporate Union of the Anglican, South India United, and Mar Thoma Syrian Churches. Bishop Waller. EW, 1920 (Jan.), 33–5. *341.*

†Church Union in South India. Bishop Waller. CMR, 1919 (Dec.),317–26. *342.*

†Union or Division in India. G. Sherwood Eddy, D.D. EW, 1920 (Jan.), 21–32. *343.*

†Union with the Anglican Church. J. Lazarus, D.D. HF, 1919 (Oct.), 370–5. *344.*

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XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

Pagan and Christian Creeds: their Origin and Meaning. Edward Carpenter. 318 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *345.*

†Die Urreligion als Missionsproblem. Prof. D. Procksch. AMZ, 1919 (May), 132–7; (June), 145–6. *346.*

†Själsteorier och Andetro hos Bakongo. K. E. Laman. SMT, 1919 (3–4), 135–50. *347.*

†Missionen och Österlandets Djävulsdyrkare. M. Anholm. SMT, 1919 (3–4), 151–75. *348.*

See also *338* (Heathen Games); *357* (Animism in Islam).

Religions of China

†Wie ein bekehrter Konfuzianer über Konfuzianismus und Christentum denkt. A. Nagel. EMM, 1919 (Oct.), 279–88. *349.*

†A Chinese 'Temple of the Cross.' Christopher Irving. *New China Review*, 1919 (Oct.), 522–33. *350.*

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†Die indische-theologische Spekulation und die christliche Trinitätslehre. Lic. Schomerus. *Zeit- und Streitfragen*, XII. Heft 11–12. Berlin-Lichterfelde: Runge. M. 1.40. 1919. *353.*

†Tantrism—The Newest Hinduism. George W. Gilmore. *American Journal of Theology*. 1919 (Oct.), 440–57. *354.*

See also *334* (Christian Church).

Buddhism

†A Buddhist Apologetic. Harrison K. Wright. *New China Review*, 1919 (Dec.), 562–87. *354a.*

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Why not Islam? Frank Ballard, D.D. 210 pp. London: Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net. 1919. *355a.*

A general survey of Islam based on easily accessible works.

†Islam versus Christianity. Abridged translation. Ghulam Mohammed, B.A. MW, 1920 (Jan.), 76–81. *356.*

†Animism in the Creed and in the Use of the Book and the Rosary. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. MW, 1920 (Jan.), 13–24. *357.*

†Lettre d'Algérie: La Faillite de l'Islam. Pierre Poujol. *Le Semeur*, 1919 (Nov.–Dec.), 24–39. *358.*

Très remarquables et pénétrantes observations sur l'évolution actuelle des idées religieuses et des conceptions sociales en Kabylie.

†Een Maleisch Getuigenis over den Weg des Islams in Sumatra. Dr Ph. S. van Ronkel. Bijdragen tot de *Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1919 (LXXV$^{3-4}$), 363–78. *359.*

See also *365* (History of Religions).

Judaism

Judentum und Christentum. Rabbiner Dr Max Dienemann. Frankfort a/M.: Kauffmann. M. 2.75. 1919. *360.*

A thoughtful treatise on the relations of Judaism and Christianity, written from the Jewish point of view.

En Jacob. Vol. I. Translated into English by Rabbi S. H. Glick. New York: Rosenberg Printing Co. *361.*

A translation of the *Haggadoth* or homiletical parts of the Talmud is much needed, but many inaccuracies spoil this volume.

Tractate Sanhedrin. Mishnah and Tosefta. Translated by Herbert Danby. 150 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 6s. net. 1919. *362.*

The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Pirke Aboth). Translated by W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. 106 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 5s. net. 1919. *363.*

See also *365* (History of Religions).

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From Theosophy to Christian Faith: A Comparison of Theosophy with Christianity. E. R. McNeile. Preface by Bishop Gore. xiv+141 pp. London: Longmans. 4s. 6d. net. 1919. *364.*

General

History of Religions. II. Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism. George Foot Moore. 552 pp. New York: Scribner; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 14s. 1919. *365.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

The War and Missions in the East. A. J. Macdonald. 184 pp. London: Robert Scott. 7s. 6d. net. 1919. *366.*

See review, p. 306.

Age-Long Principles and Modern Life. William Paton. IRM, 1920 (Apr.), 281–8. *366a.*

Nos Indigènes Mobilisés. Gustave Mondain. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris. 148 pp. Fr. 3. 1920. *367.*

†The Indirect Rule of Native Races. C. A. C. Streatfeild. CMR, 1919 (Dec.), 327–36. *368.*

†Nationality and Citizenship in Relation to Christian Missions. Dora Tickell. EW, 1920 (Jan.), 79–82. *369.*

†Versaillefreden och Missionen. A. Kolmodin. SMT, 1919 (5), 193–210. *370.*

†Sind unsere deutschen Missionen gerettet? Dr Schmidlin. Die Diplomatie und die deutschen Missionen. P. Gonsalvus Walter, O.M. Cap. ZM, 1919 (4), 263–72. *371.*

†Uit de Javaansch-Maleisch Pers. MNZG, 1919 (LXIII^4), 347–58. *372.*

†Morische Verhalen. H. G. van Eelen, J. Ritsema and N. Adriani. MNZG, 1919 (LXIII^4), 312–27. *373.*

Koloniaal Onderwijs Congres (Tweede) te's-Gravenhage, 22–24 Oct. 1919. Praeadviezen xvi en 168 blz.; Stenografisch Verslag 296 blz. 's-Gravenhage: Drukkerij Korthuis. 1919. *374.*

See also *224–7, 229* (Japan); *230–2* (Korea); *244, 259, 276–7, 309* (German Missions); *253, 257* (India); *267* (Indians in France); *275–7, 290–3* (Africa); *298* (Kanaka); *307* (War and Missions).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

Den Heliga Elden. Johannes Johnson. 198 S. Stockholm: A. B. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag. Kr. 4.25. 1919. *375.*

†Zendingsstudie voor Bijbelverklaring. M. Lindenborn. *Nieuwe Theologische Studien*, 1920 (III^1), 1–6. *376.*

Mittens Rike och Kristi Rike. Maj Lagerheim-Björck. 104 S. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag. Kr. 2.50. 1919. *377.*

†De voro Odödliga, tills deras Uppgift var fylld. J. Othenius. SMT, 1919 (6), 241–52. *378.*

XIV. New Missionary Magazines

Orient and Occident. Edited by W. H. T. Gairdner and S. M. Zwemer. No. 1. Jan. 1920. Monthly. 32 pp. Cairo: 35 Sharia el-Falaky. Yearly subscription in Egypt 20 P.T.; in foreign countries 5s. or $1.25. *379.*

This Arabic-English magazine, first published in 1904 by C.M.S. missionaries, and continued from 1912 in Arabic only, will henceforth be conducted by an inter-mission board sitting in Cairo. It is destined for the Arabic-reading public in all lands. The English section has been revived.

XV. Missionary Education

Världen och Evangeliet. J. H. Oldham. Översättning av Hertha Sommarström. 204 S. Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Förlag. Kr. 4.50. 1919. *380.*

Literature for Boys and Girls

Don Raimon. A Story of Raymond Lull. E. K. Seth-Smith. Illus. 128 pp. London: S.P.C.K.; New York: The Macmillan Company. 3s. net. 1919. *381.*

Full of human interest and of missionary inspiration. For young people of 16 and upwards.

African Scout Stories. Part I.: Robert Keable; Part II.: Edward G. Sedding. Illus. 72 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 2s. net. 1919. *382.*

Mxamli, the Feaster. A Pondomisi Tale of the Diocese of St. John's, South Africa. Godfrey Callaway, S.S.J.E. Illus. 96 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net. 1920. *383.*

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JRD = *Journal of Race Development*
MNZG = *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB LTD., EDINBURGH

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

MISSIONS AND THE NEW SITUATION IN ASIA[1]

By EDWYN BEVAN

THE kingdom which Christian missions aim at extending is not of this world. The rise and fall of earthly states and empires does not invalidate one whit its claim upon the allegiance of mankind. No considerations of national politics can override the duty incumbent upon the Christian Church to proclaim the everlasting Gospel. Yet, while this is true, it is also true that the course actually taken by the preaching of the Gospel, the facilities in one direction and the obstacles in another, the data with which the Christian Church has to deal in the temper and the circumstances of those to whom it utters its message, are all immensely affected by the political and economic conditions of the day. At the very outset it was the Roman Peace, the union of all the countries around the Mediterranean under one *imperium*, which made it possible for the

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[1] It was intended to conclude the Survey of the Effect of the War upon Missions which has been appearing in recent issues of the Review with a section on National and International Movements, so that the work and present position of Christian missions might be seen in their wider setting. In view of the vastness of the subject, however, and the variety of standpoints from which it may be approached, it has seemed impossible to make any presentation of it which would be sufficiently complete and objective in treatment for inclusion in the Survey. It has been judged better, therefore, to deal with it in separate signed articles, one of which on the New Situation in Asia appears in this issue.—EDITOR.

Christian Church to spread just in the way it did. The great missionary movement of the nineteenth century coincided in time with the extension of European rule or European influence over the globe, a truth underlying the common grotesque misstatement that the same Europeans assaulted the backward peoples of the earth materially with the gun and spiritually with the Bible. It is therefore inevitable that the developments of recent years, including the Great War, in changing conditions upon the planet, should change the situation with which Christian missions have to deal.

JAPAN.—When we look to the Far East the mystery of the future seems to centre in the problematic figure of Japan. No other nation outside the sphere of Christendom has risen from weakness to power since the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century. The transformation of Japan into a strong state, armed with all the resources of modern science, has affected in two main ways the situation before Christian missions. Firstly, in so far as new developments in Japanese thought and feeling have taken place under the stimulus, on the one hand, of national self-consciousness and aspiration and, on the other hand, of all the influences reaching Japan from the West, these must very much affect the mode in which the Japanese people themselves react to the Christian gospel. Secondly, in so far as the action of Japan in the world must largely determine future conditions in all the other lands washed by the Pacific, whether to produce a web of international hatreds, suspicions and fears or a neighbourly adjustment and goodwill all round—that again has direct bearing upon the growth and character of the Christian Church in those countries.

With regard to the internal developments in Japan, it would seem that a national egoism, not unencouraged by the Government, hinders the extension of real Christianity. The Japanese, we are told, even when they profess Christianity, are apt to feel themselves Japanese first and

Christians second: they are apt to value Christianity primarily because they think it will further the advancement of Japan. To acknowledge and preserve what is admirable and heroic in the prevalent worship of Japan, and at the same time to correct what is excessive and one-sided in it, ought to be the line of that Japanese Christianity which missions desire to call into being. But it must be recognized that the excessive worship of Japan is a factor in the Japanese mind which at present makes the whole-hearted acceptance of a supernatural allegiance difficult. It must also be recognized that a similar national egoism prevents the growth of real Christianity in Europe.

The Great War does not seem to have left such immediate visible results in Japan as in the countries of Europe. It has caused a rise in the cost of living which naturally affects all missionary work on the financial side. The collapse of Germany has disconcerted expectations. The Japanese military element had an admiration for the German military machine quite natural in the circumstances. Their own prestige in Japan was to some extent bound up with the credit of the German system on which they had been modelled. The break-down of Germany may thus affect Japan by weakening the hold of the militarist idea upon the popular mind and as the shock of unexpected events often does bring about a reconsideration of accepted values. At the same time the rise of Bolshevism in Russia and the general unrest affecting the less privileged classes all over the world has not left Japan unshaken. Under the forms of a democracy the real power in the country has hitherto been in the hands of a small class. There are signs that the Japanese people will before long insist on having a larger share in the direction of the government. It is likely that Japan will make a considerable move in the direction of Liberalism.

This may affect the question which for missionaries is perhaps the most thorny of all those connected with Japan —the question of Korea. Here they have before them one of those states of conflict between a foreign government and an inflamed nationalism in which any missionary may well find it hard to show unconcern, if he desires to be a human friend to the people among whom he lives, whilst it is impossible for him to side with the Japanese Government without seeming to set Christianity against liberty, or to side with the Korean nationalists without abusing the confidence of the Japanese Government. If in recent years the Japanese Government has borne hardly upon the Korean Christians that is not because the Japanese Government has any religious objection to Christianity; it is because Christianity in Korea has seemed to the Japanese Government to go with disloyalty to the imperial state. (It is curious to find in one part of the world Christianity accused of being 'denationalizing' and in another part of encouraging nationalism.) It was for a similar reason that Christians were persecuted in the first days of the Roman Empire. Even in details the parallel is close. It was because the early Christians refused to offer incense to the Genius of the Roman Emperor that they were regarded as enemies of the State; it is a stumbling-block for the Korean Christians that they are required to do obeisance to the picture of the Japanese Emperor as divine. All missionary educational work in Korea must obviously find its task seriously complicated by the government policy of making education a means of changing Korean children into Japanese. Whether there is any solution of the difficulty this is not the place to inquire. Before leaving Korea one may note that there too the war has had the effect of sending up prices and confronting missions and churches with many financial difficulties.

With regard to the external action of Japan in the world, the prospect is already clouded by resentments and suspicions. China is embittered by the Japanese refusal to let go their hold upon Kiao-Chao and the Shantung peninsula. In America and Australia large circles are possessed with the idea that the Japanese attempt to expand must sooner or later bring about a sanguinary conflict between Japan and their own countries. The Japanese, on the other hand, feel bitterly the racial discrimination against all peoples but those of European stock. A world of national antagonisms is not one favourable to the growth of a society whose essential principle is that of a supernational brotherhood. If Japanese Christians on the one side and Chinese and American Christians on the other side are at enmity, there is a schism in the Body, which must necessarily to some extent stultify the Christian appeal. The blame may be thrown upon Japan as grasping and ambitious, but if Japan's real needs, arising from the pressure of population upon the area of the Japanese Empire, are not considered in the spirit which desires a fair distribution of what the earth affords, the Japanese may have some excuse for thinking that it is only by craft and strength of hand that they can secure their due share in such a world.

CHINA.—The process of change and innovation which has characterized modern history in the West has now, spreading to Asia, plunged the ancient Chinese nation into something like temporary chaos. A few years ago China exhibited the impressive picture of a state in which traditions belonging to a world as old as Rome were still in force. The violent break with those traditions which accompanied the conversion of China into a republic has for the time being thrown government out of gear. The South openly refuses to acknowledge the authority of Pekin. The power throughout the country is largely held by military chiefs who act each for his own hand. In many districts bands of brigands loot and kill. Corruption in high places reduces the forms of constitutional government to an ineffectual pretence. The morale of the people is further impaired by drugs, the sale of which is said to be promoted by the Japanese from their vantage-ground in Shantung. The younger generation of educated men, educated in large numbers not only under western influences but in America and Europe, feel intensely the humiliation of their country, which they are powerless to remedy, and their resentment is directed against the militarists who dominate at home and the foreign enemy, Japan, which uses the weakness of China to press its own advantage.

Such a state of things must no doubt create difficulties for all missionary enterprise. The insecurity of present conditions and the uncertainty of the future must make it hard to embark on plans in China which imply the sinking of money. If indeed in this crisis of its long history China throws up leaders of strength and probity one may hope to see stability restored. In the general confusion there are some encouraging signs.

Whilst, however, the hour is a dark one in China politically, religiously it is full of hope. The sense of weakness and the shaking of confidence in old traditions has disposed the Chinese, as never before, to listen to the gospel of Jesus as possibly revealing a way of moral salvation. The numbers who at the present moment are drawn to the Christian Church are remarkable. Facts in recent years have singularly contradicted the suppositions of those who used to assert years ago, like Mr Hyndman, that Christian missionaries were taking to China something to which Chinese could attach no value. In the political progressive movement in China, Chinese Christians have played a prominent part. One of the delegates of China to the Peace Conference was a Christian. And now in larger and larger circles men are feeling that in Christianity is the secret of that moral regeneration which may lift the Chinese people from weakness and disintegration into new and noble life.

India.—In India things are moving so fast that it is difficult to determine their significance. The war profoundly affected the attitude of the British people to Indian nationalism. On the one hand, it was felt that the people who had fought in such numbers side by side with British soldiers at a moment of great national peril deserved to be treated as more than a subject race; on the other hand, since the British, in their fight against the Central Empires, had pro-claimed as something sacred the principle of national self-determination, they came, by a common psychological process, to be very much influenced inwardly by their own professions, and, instead of feeling that the concession of autonomy to the Indians was something which might be wrung from England piecemeal by circumstances, but which would be a disagreeable renunciation, they now felt on the contrary that it would be a splendid thing to give self-determination as rapidly as possible and were only checked by a fear of the consequences which a too rapid introduction of the forms of popular government amongst a people as primitive as the unlettered millions of India still are might entail. Impelled forward by its new idealist zeal, and at the same time restrained by a cautious realism, the British Government expressed its policy in the epoch-making declaration of August 20, 1917—a beginning to be made at once with the process of transferring the administration in India to Indian hands, but the administration to be transferred only gradually, by successive departments, as capacity developed by practice. The declaration was followed in 1918 by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and finally in 1919 by a scheme of reforms, which in the main followed the Report, becoming law.

It is unquestionable that the reforms will bring about a state of things in India very different from that with which missionary work in the past had to deal. Some look forward to the result of the experiment with apprehension, some with hope ; in any case the position of the missionary must be affected by the transference of power to Indian hands. The change will at first perhaps most be felt in the department of education. Whilst under the old régime the Government showed no favour to Christianity—one might even say that occasionally there was an almost anti-Christian bias to be detected in government education—nevertheless the missionary educational institutions have in certain places owing to circumstances enjoyed a kind of monopoly. Within their institutions the missionary bodies have had a free hand unchecked by any conscience clause. Some missionaries, accustomed to the old state of things, look forward not without nervousness to the control of education by a body composed in large part of Indian politicians. But if the working of representative government in India does bring to the top enough men of honesty, common sense and unselfish patriotism to make Indian democracy on the whole a success—there are certainly some men of this type already amongst India's public men—then it ought not to be hard for missionaries to win the confidence of such men and work with them for the good of India.

But the change in India is not only a change in the forms of government ; it is a change of spirit. The war made masses of men realize, as they had never done before, that India was only part of a larger world, whilst the fact that Indians were taking their share in a world struggle quickened their sense of dignity and their idea of what India might be, if its powers were developed or were allowed free play. The volume of feeling behind the demand for self-government has grown ; larger circles than before have awoken to question why the Indians should consent to be a subject people. It would be a mistake to suppose that this movement has necessarily meant any enthusiasm for democracy as such. Some of those most urgent in publicly demanding that the foreigner shall give place to the Indian in the government of the country have no particular desire to see a real Indian democracy, in which the lower strata of the population have a share in the control proportionate to their numbers. The principal motive impelling those who urge the nationalist demand is a sense that their dignity as men is wronged by their being treated as political and social inferiors—it is in the last resort a sense of human personality, its claim to respect and freedom. The Nationalist Movement in this way offers points of resemblance to the Labour Movement in Europe ; in that too, deeper than the demand for more wages and more leisure, is the vague unrest which springs from the feeling of human personality, its dignity and its claims.

No doubt it is true that those who have this sense of human worth for themselves and their own class should logically be ready to give humanity its rights in the depressed and the out-caste. Some of the leaders of Indian opinion to-day do so—the section, for instance, represented by the Servants of India. If the temper and outlook which animates that admirable society becomes uppermost in the India of the future, then indeed the prospect of free India is a bright one. But even if some other sections of Indian nationalism are open to the charge of inconsistency in claiming respect and freedom for themselves whilst they tolerate the wrongs connected with the caste system in its present form, and other inveterate social evils, a Christian ought to recognize the essential rightness of the feeling which has just been described as a sense of what is due to human personality. For if there is one thing fundamental to the Christian view it is an insistence upon the worth of human personality even in the most insignificant individual. Nor does it seem possible that those who present Christianity to the Indians can do so truly, unless they frankly admit that the racial pride shown by many Europeans in the East is essentially anti-Christian.

A question which confronts Christian missionaries in India is how far they ought to participate publicly and actively in protests and efforts which have a political character. On the one hand, a missionary may consider that where Indian sentiment is inflamed against what it regards as a wrong, especially where the feeling is caused by some action of the Government, it is his business rather to allay and soothe than to intensify the feeling by giving it his approval. In India, as in Korea, though in a different way, the situation makes it hard for the missionaries to take a strong line which might embarrass the Government; this need not be timidity, but may be a genuine conviction that greater harm would be done in India itself by a weakening of government authority than would be made up for by any advantage secured through missionaries associating themselves with Indian grievances. Or again, the principal aim of missions, it may be argued, is to bear witness to the eternal Realities behind the transitory world, to call out a society of men and women in a right relation to God rather than to engage in setting earthly governments to rights; there are men called to work in the political field; missionaries have a special vocation to work in the religious; and by entangling themselves in political controversy they would bring confusion into their activities and be less able to draw men's attention to the thing of supreme importance, the gospel of Christ.

There is something to be said for this view. If Christianity is true to its principle, its main emphasis must be on the other world, not on this. And in times of political excitement missionaries must be prepared to find that for this very reason their message is unacceptable to many for whom interest in the seen has driven out interest in the unseen. The danger of mixing up politics and the proclamation of the Gospel is a real one. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that all questions of justice and right, even in this transient sphere, concern the eternal kingdom of God, and if the perfect state can be realized only in heaven, the Christian has also to strive that on earth, as in heaven, God's will should be done. If the essence of Christianity is love to *persons*, then the Christian will, it is true, desire chiefly their eternal good; but they will best be persuaded of his desire for their eternal good by seeing that he is not indifferent to their temporal good. The same Christ in the Gospels who says 'Labour not for the meat which perisheth' feeds the multitude lest they should be hungry on their walk home. It is unquestionable that had the missionary bodies and the leaders of the Church spoken out strongly on some of those matters which Indians feel to be burning wrongs, such as the treatment of Indians in South Africa, the indenture system in Fiji, or certain incidents in the Panjab, they would have done a good deal to convince Indians that they were really and truly their friends. Some missionaries have protested strongly against these things. But as a whole the representatives of European Christianity have maintained with regard to them an attitude of cautious reserve. The British Government, with the agreement of the British people, has by the Montagu Reforms recognized a large measure of justice in the nationalist demand; and the Indians note that this first great success of their cause has been achieved with very little help or encouragement from missionary circles.[1] There is a feeling that it is hopeless to look to those circles for any cordial sympathy or assistance in the troubles through which India is passing. This feeling may be quite unfair, but it exists. It may have been impossible for missionaries to take the line which would have secured them popularity at this moment without deserting their proper functions.

This is not the place to discuss whether the missionaries were right or wrong. It is enough to point out that few questions under the new conditions in India will become more critical for the future history of missions than the question how far missionaries should treat the political interests, in which so much of the heart of India will be engaged, as matters of righteousness and human welfare upon which they cannot be silent or neutral, and how far as matters from which they are compelled by their vocation to stand aloof.

Asiatic Immigration.—One question in which not only India but all eastern peoples are concerned is that of the immigration of Asiatics into countries inhabited or ruled by 'white men.' The question has become acute both in regard to the desire of the Japanese to settle in America or in the islands of the Pacific and in regard to the Indians in Africa and Fiji.

It is no doubt a somewhat different question where the country is *inhabited* by a white race—America or South Africa—and where it is only *ruled* by white men—the tropical Pacific Islands or East Africa. In the former case the contention of the white inhabitants of the country is that every community has a right to maintain its homogeneity by refusing to admit elements whose ways of life are very different from its own in such numbers as to affect its own social tradition or standards of living. Economic considerations also come in. If the Asiatic can thrive on a cheaper diet than the European, if he is content with a lower scale of living, if he is more hardworking and abstemious, his competition in the same market prevents the European worker from having the kind of life he wants. The more Asiatics come in, the greater is the danger of the social tradition of the white community being changed, the severer is the competition. We must recognize therefore—and this constitutes the difficulty of the problem—that the motives which cause a society of white men to resist the infiltration of non-Europeans is not a mere ignorant prejudice which a little remonstrance or instruction might remove, but something primary in human nature—the instinct which leads every society to resist an alteration of its tradition and the desire of every individual to have as easy and as rich a life as possible. There seem to be three, and only three, possible courses for a white community to take in regard to Asiatic immigration : to prohibit it altogether ; to admit it without restriction, or with only the same restrictions which apply to European immigration ; or to admit it with special restrictions. Each of the three courses seems open to grave objection. If Asiatic immigration is altogether prohibited, the resentment of the Asiatic peoples against the white races is likely to be inflamed to a degree which may prevent any peaceable state of the world and the Christian doctrine of human brotherhood may seem a mockery. If it is admitted without restriction, the danger of white communities being swamped by Asiatic elements is a very real one. If it is admitted with special restrictions applying to Asiatics, then, whatever line is drawn, hard cases will be continually recurring, there will be perpetual friction between the limited number of Asiatics admitted and the white population, and the special disabilities may constitute a grievance almost as exasperating as total exclusion.

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[1] One should not forget in such a connexion the warm advocacy of Indian claims by the Bishop of Madras.

These considerations apply equally to America and to states within the British Commonwealth. But in the case of the latter the problem is complicated both by the fact that Japan and England are allies, and, still more, by the fact that India is itself one of the states under the British Crown. The inhabitants of India have legally the privileges of British citizens, and if liberty to settle within other territories under the British Crown is denied them they may naturally complain that, while they have not the advantages of independence, neither do they have the advantages of the British connexion. The injustice seems most flagrant in regard to East Africa. In South Africa the white men have made the country their home and Asiatic immigrants enter upon the facilities of a civilization already there, developed by the labours of others; but in East Africa there is no domiciled white society which needs to protect its tradition and Indian traders were active in the country before white men came there.

But if in such a case it is difficult to see any kind of justification for disabilities imposed upon immigrants from India, even in those cases where Asiatics are excluded from white men's countries, it is impossible to regard such a state of things as corresponding with the Christian ideal. ' In Christ ' race barriers are done away, and if Christianity ceases to stand for universal human brotherhood it may as well give up any claim to be taken seriously. This is not to say that, while men are what they are, it may not be the preferable course for different sections of the human family to live apart, just as it may be better for brothers who cannot get on together to live apart rather than to live under the same roof in perpetual friction. But even if a Christian might consistently advise brothers in such a state of things to live apart, he could only regard the state of things as itself an unhappy one, not as one corresponding with his ideal of family life. In the same way, whilst desiring a state of the world in which men of all races would be one in Christ, he may consider it the preferable course in the present unsatisfactory state of the world for the communities with different traditions and physical characteristics to keep to separate areas on the surface of the globe. To force a community of white men to admit Asiatic immigrants against its will might lead to worse evils than honest separation. And what power *could* force a self-governing state of white men to admit elements from outside against their will ? The degree of pressure which His Majesty's Government in London can bring upon South Africa is after all very limited. It is better to admit frankly that there is not and cannot be, as things are, freedom of migration within the Commonwealth for all subjects of the British Crown.

If however one recognizes it as inevitable, in the present state of the world, that there should be this segregation of different races, there seem to be two things upon which Christian opinion should insist. One is that the limited number of Asiatics admitted into any white man's country should not be subjected to ill-treatment whilst there. It is unquestionable that a strong feeling of bitterness as to the treatment of Indians in South Africa exists in India and this is a factor in the situation which has to be faced by those who go to India to proclaim a gospel of human brotherhood. The other thing is that if different areas on the earth's surfaces are to be allocated to different peoples the distribution must be a fair one. For instance, even if Japan is trying to get what it believes to be necessary for its national well-being by means which are reprehensible, it can hardly be satisfactory from the Christian point of view simply to defeat the aims of Japan by superior force ; if Japan is to be won to a better mind, the real needs of the Japanese people must be honestly and sympathetically considered by the other peoples of the earth, and an arrangement sought which shall as far as possible be fair all round.

ISLAM.—The situation in the Mohammedan world has been profoundly modified by the break-up of the Ottoman Empire. The last Mohammedan state which had any claim to be a great Power is gone. If the Persian 'King of Kings' still reigns in Teheran, there is little in the present position of Persia to gratify Mohammedan pride, apart from the fact that Persian Mohammedanism is regarded by only a small number of Moslems outside Persia as the genuine thing. Four hundred years ago Islam and Christendom seemed to confront each other as equals in political and military power; since then the decay and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the Nearer East and the Mogul Empire in India has at last led to a state of things in which the countries covered by those empires are either directly ruled by Europeans or are in the hands of Europeans to be disposed of at their discretion. It does not follow that Mohammedanism might not continue, even if its association with worldly power and prestige ceased, to be powerful as a religion. Christian Churches, like those which were included in the old Ottoman Empire, have maintained themselves with extraordinary tenacity as religious communities, century after century, in a condition of political subjection and humiliation. One may ask, however, whether the Christian view of the world is not more compatible with a state of things in which the Christian community is suffering and oppressed than the Mohammedan view of the world is with a state of things in which worldly dominion has passed away from the faithful. Islam went forth at the very beginning, sword in hand, to conquer, and it may be questioned in what form Islam will survive when it has seen that all those conquests and worldly glories were evanescent, a transitory phase in the history of mankind. It is probable that Islam, as a religion, will continue long to have a very strong hold upon the more primitive communities. One movement which the loss of worldly power may accelerate within Islam is the desire to acquire western education so as to meet Christendom again some day on equal terms. Yet this very movement may as it goes on bring great trouble into Islam. For Islam, in consequence of its rigid traditional dogmas, is far less compatible with western knowledge than, for instance, elastic Hinduism. Hitherto the backwardness of the Mohammedan world, as a whole, in the matter of education has saved it from intellectual troubles. Even in India, the Mohammedans have only recently begun to acquire western knowledge on any large scale and the effects have not had time to show themselves. The reforming movement in the nineteenth century connected with the name of Syed Ahmed, whilst it threw over tradition and made its motto 'Back to the Koran,' did not go so far as to question the Koran's verbal inspiration. Yet the dogmas concerning the Koran are precisely some of those which will be the most impossible to maintain in the face of scientific historical criticism. We may expect in this century to witness new reforming movements in Islam which will present modes of belief combining elements in the old Mohammedan view of the world with modern views. If however any reforming movement in Islam seeks to fall back simply upon these enduring elements, its difficulty will be that there would be little to distinguish such a purified Mohammedanism from any other Theism; the things which give its distinctive character to Mohammedanism as it has existed in history are just those which a reforming movement would tend to give up.

Christians who believe that they have a view of the world to put before the peoples now following Islam in which the eternal truths of Islam are embraced in a completer body of truth cannot but look on with cordial interest at the new developments within Islam. For the moment a serious factor in the situation is the widespread resentment created amongst the Indian Mohammedans at the refusal of the Allies in Europe to reconstitute the Ottoman Empire as it existed before the war. It is impossible in this place to discuss the rights and wrongs of the Caliphate question. The fact stands out that a reconstitution of the Ottoman Empire is under the actual conditions impossible, and that sooner or later the Indian Mohammedans will have to recognize the facts of the world.

At the same time, we on our side should recognize that the pain caused to the Indian Mohammedans by the break-up of the last great Mohammedan Power is perfectly natural. If the exponents of Christianity are to speak to them with any persuasiveness they must be able to convince them that they are utterly free from any desire to see the Mohammedan peoples humiliated ; that on the contrary they sincerely desire for these peoples the greatest amount of good and the most honourable standing. If they desire, as they must desire, that these peoples should come to the larger truth of Christianity, Christians cannot desire that they should have, whilst they adhere to Islam anything less than all the good which it is possible for them to have without the rights of other peoples being infringed. Even if it were likely, instead of being extremely unlikely, that the Mohammedan peoples would be attracted to Christianity by seeing that riches and worldly power went with western civilization, no Christian could regard such an attraction as having any spiritual value. If therefore the break-up of the Ottoman Empire meant that the Mohammedan peoples were cut off from any possibility of national dignity and well-being in the future, the Christian Church would need to protest strongly. According to the theory, however, professed by the Allies, the place of the Ottoman dominion is to be taken by a number of independent national states—Turkish Anatolia, Armenia, the Arab country. The English also assert that they are training Egypt for self-government, and real autonomy means that the ultimate relation of Egypt to England would not be one of subjection. Supposing these states enjoy real liberty, one can hardly deny that the Ottoman dominion will have been replaced by a happier state of things. A group of free national Mohammedan states presents a fairer picture than a Turkish despotism—a picture which need cause no Indian Mohammedan a feeling of shame ; indeed, in so far as the Indian Mohammedans have the start in education and in experience of modern government, a sphere of influence in these Mohammedan states of the Nearer East is opened to them which may well efface their regrets for the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire. If at present they cannot see any compensation in this direction it is because they do not believe that the professions of the Allies are sincere, that real liberty will be conceded to these new eastern states. Yet if they directed their zeal to demanding of the British Government that it should be true to its professions, if they exerted themselves to make this ideal of a group of free states a reality, and watched over the progress of their liberties, instead of demanding the impossible reconstitution of the Ottoman dominion, their agitation might achieve some fruitful result. It is at any rate in raising its voice for justice and goodwill to the new national Turkey, to the Arab State and to Egypt, as well as to the Christian Armenia, that the Christian Church may hope to show the Mohammedan peoples that it has their interests at heart.

ZIONISM.—A word should perhaps be said as to the creation of a 'national home' in Palestine for the Jewish people. No Christian who knows the ill-usage to which Jews are subjected in many Christian countries can do anything but welcome any measure which offers a refuge to the sufferers and a means by which the rights of the Jewish community can be represented authoritatively in the council of the nations. At the same time it constitutes a grave difficulty in the way of the creation of a Jewish *state* in Palestine that Palestine has already a population mainly non-Jewish (Moslem and Christian) which regards any idea of Jewish predominance with intense hostility. Jewish Zionists are confident that this difficulty can be got over; perhaps they underrate its magnitude, dazzled by the vision of Palestine regained. If indeed the Jewish Zionists do ultimately discover any way of making Palestine a Jewish country without giving the Moslems and Christians now there any just ground of complaint, then indeed one may welcome whole-heartedly the establishment of a Jewish national state in the ancient land of Israel. It is largely upon the Jews themselves, upon their ingenuity and tact and generosity, that it rests to solve the problem, if it is ever to be solved. Whether from the Jewish point of view Zionism is a wise departure or a mistake is another question. Those Jewish leaders who consider that the establishment of a Jewish political state in Palestine, a state among the states of the world, would prove an embarrassment to Judaism in other countries and turn the community aside from its proper religious vocation are entitled to respect; their followers are more numerous amongst the American than amongst the European Jews. The point which it seems important to emphasize from the point of view of Christian missions is that Judaism cannot well combine the characters of a religious community and of a political nation. If it is a religious community, then indeed no member of it can give up the distinctive Jewish beliefs and practices without forfeiting his right to belong to the community; if, on the other hand, it is a political nation, a Jew might become a Christian or a Buddhist or a Mohammedan without ceasing to be politically and civilly a full Jew; for it would be tyrannous, according to modern conceptions, to make one religion obligatory for all members of a nation. A Jewish state within the British Commonwealth would have to extend religious toleration to its members. Any Jew wishing to become a Christian would have to be free to do so without incurring any civil or political disabilities. The religious character of Judaism might suffer, but one cannot have it both ways.

EDWYN BEVAN

EMPEROR WORSHIP IN JAPAN

By ALBERTUS PIETERS

SHINTO, the ancient religion of Japan, has not hitherto been considered anything very remarkable from the standpoint of comparative religion, being only a primitive nature and spirit worship such as is found among undeveloped peoples all the world over. Some years ago it was the general opinion among students that the advance of the Japanese in intelligence would be sufficient to lay Shinto upon the shelf, and that it was hardly worth while for Christian missionaries and Japanese ministers to study it. Many of the latter did not pay sufficient attention to it to be reasonably well informed with regard to its history and principles. This situation has changed since the war with Russia. In connexion with and in consequence of that struggle, there has been a revival of Shinto. This revival is already a phenomenon worthy of study, and it bids fair to become an interesting and remarkable development in the history of religion, since it aims to adapt that primitive nature and spirit worship to the religious needs and intellectual condition of a highly developed, well educated modern state—something that has never yet taken place. In this attempt old ideas are being restated in such form that they seem to some observers to be new inventions.

In 1912 the Rationalist Press Association published an essay by Dr Basil Hall Chamberlain, long professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo and one of the foremost oriental scholars, entitled *The Invention of a New Religion.*[1] This is a very valuable study of Emperor Worship as the outstanding feature of the new Shinto, but the discussion is marred and confidence in the author's conclusions is rendered more difficult for Christian readers by the extremely rationalistic attitude taken towards religion in general. The author in effect represents the political leaders of Japan as getting together around a table and saying: 'Go to, let us invent a new religion and foist it upon the people as the ancient cult of Japan, that we may the more easily control the masses.' Anyone who has himself an earnest religious faith will find it difficult to believe that any important religious development can have arisen in so self-conscious, artificial and fraudulent a manner.

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[1] London: Watts & Co.

In 1918 an anonymous essay, by a Roman Catholic resident in Japan, was translated from the magazine *Les Nouvelles Religieuses*, of Paris, and published in the *Japan Chronicle*, of Kobe, Japan. This discussion is primarily from the standpoint of a missionary and is intended to point out the effect of this revival of Shinto upon Christian work in Japan. It is also, naturally, written in a more religious spirit, and denies the idea of a new invention. Much discussion has been aroused by these and other papers, and by the attitude of the Government, which, in spite of the constitutional guarantee of religious liberty, has been insisting that officials should take part in Shinto rites and has instructed the primary school teachers to take their pupils in a body to worship at the local shrines. Both officials and cultivated Japanese often assert that to require such acts is not inconsistent with religious freedom, because the objects of worship, called in Japanese 'Kami,' are not gods in the religious sense. Thus the author of the Roman Catholic essay referred to quotes the governor of an important city as having summoned a Catholic prelate, and as having said: 'Although the word "Kami" continues to be used in the national cult, it has in no way the meaning of a supernatural being, which you give to it. It connotes only illustrious men, benefactors of their country. Consequently all Japanese, no matter what their religion, can pay them honour without doing violence to their conscience.'

Missionaries and Christian Japanese have not agreed among themselves as to these things. The tendency in some circles has been to accept this interpretation, denying the religious element in the ordinary ceremonies at Shinto shrines, and thus establishing a sort of *modus vivendi* which would enable Christian men to comply with the desire of the authorities without abandoning their Christian principles. With all this discussion, it has been difficult to find anyone who was qualified to speak with authority. Hence the publication, in February 1919, of a book entitled, *Waga Kokutai to Shinto*,[1] by Dr Genchi Kato, was exceedingly opportune, as the book throws a flood of light upon all these questions. The title means, ‘ Our National Constitution and Shinto ’ ; but one must be careful to understand the word ‘ constitution ’ here, not as the fundamental political law (which would be ‘ kempo ’), but as the vital organism, as when we say that a man has a robust constitution. It means broadly the sum total of the moral principles, political institutions and national characteristics which differentiate the Japanese from other races and nations. Anything contrary to the ‘ Kokutai ’ would be un-Japanese, which awakens in the Japanese breast quite the same horror as is aroused in the minds of the people of the United States when an opinion or a course of action is denounced as ‘ un-American.’

The proposition laid down and defended with much learning by Dr Kato is that Shinto is the heart of the Japanese ‘ Kokutai,’ and that Emperor Worship is, and always has been, the very essence of Shinto. It is thus the holy of holies of that which is truly Japanese. The author has the highest qualifications to speak on such a subject. Born in 1872, he is a comparatively young man, a product of the new era. A graduate of the College of Literature of the University of Tokyo, he has enjoyed a modern education. His doctor’s degree was obtained in 1908, the subject of his thesis being 'Knowledge and Belief.' He is now a lecturer on Comparative Religion in the College of Literature of the Imperial University of Tokyo, and is the author of several books on the science of religion. That he is thoroughly at home, both in the ancient documents of Japan and in the modern literature of his specialty, is apparent on every page of his book. We have therefore at last what we have been waiting for, a discussion of Emperor Worship and related issues from a non-Christian Japanese, himself thoroughly committed to the ideas he expounds, who is at the same time qualified to discuss the subject from the standpoint and in the terms of modern thought.

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[1] Tokyo: The Kodo Kwan. Y. 2. Can be obtained through the Methodist Publishing House, Tokyo.

The book has six chapters and an appendix, but the discussion as such is closed with the end of the fifth chapter, the sixth being merely a study of the religious ideas of the Emperor Meiji—the father of the present Emperor—as shown in his poems. The titles of these five chapters are as follows : The Fundamental Principles upon which our Country is founded ; the Key-note of our Conception of Loyalty and Filial Piety ; what constitutes Religion ? ; the Japanese Idea of God from the Standpoint of Comparative Religion ; the Vital Element in Shinto and the World Religions.

The conclusions reached are, that the fundamental principle upon which the national constitution of Japan is based is the divinity of the Emperor ; that the key-note of loyalty and filial piety is a religious faith of which the Emperor is the object ; that this system of Emperor Worship is fully entitled to rank as a religion ; that from the standpoint of comparative religion this system is a theanthropic national cult ; and that this national cult is not destined to disappear before the onward march of the world religions, because it is rich in moral content, and because it is able to subject other religions to a process of assimilation whereby they become subservient to Emperor Worship and act as a means of further strengthening it, not as a means of gradually breaking it down.

The author opens the first chapter with a strong affirmation of the religious nature of man and of the consequent necessity of an object of faith and worship. Among the Chinese, the highest object of such faith and worship was 'Ten' or Heaven; among the Jews it was Jehovah. 'From ancient times to the present,' he goes on to say, 'the Emperor of Japan has occupied the position which among the Chinese was accorded to Heaven, and among the Jews to Jehovah.' He then proceeds to prove this proposition, almost in the style of a Christian theologian arguing for the deity of Christ, from the divine names attributed to the Emperor in the ancient records, in poems and in official documents, from the divine acts he is said to perform, from the attitude of the people, from the difference between the coronation ceremonies of Japan and of occidental countries, and from the fact that the Emperor of Japan does not salute the flag, as do the rulers of other nations, but the flag salutes the Emperor.

As to the divine names, the Emperor is referred to in the ancient records as 'Aki-tsu-Kami,' 'Ara-hito-Kami' and 'Ara-Mi-Kami.' Dr Kato quotes the following explanation of these names from a scholar named Oyamada: 'Ara-hito-kami has the same meaning as Aki-tsu-kami, namely, that of God manifested in human form. When we call the Emperor Aki-tsu-kami we mean that though he is God, he condescends to manifest himself in a human body.' Dr Aston's translation of Aki-tsu-kami as 'God incarnate' is quoted with approval.

Confirmation of this view of the supreme ruler is found in the fact that the Chinese character for 'Heaven' is in some ancient writings rendered by the Japanese syllables 'Kimi,' or lord, and that the expressions 'Kimi,' lord, and 'Kami,' god, are used interchangeably. In the same ancient documents, and in the coronation ceremonies still observed, divine acts are attributed to the Emperor, for he is represented as associating on equal terms with the gods, and one who does this must himself be a god. The gods of nature are represented as occupying a lower position than the Emperor and as receiving orders from him.

Divine honours are constantly accorded to the Emperor. Dr Harada, until recently the president of the Doshisha University, the great school founded by Joseph Neeshima, in a lecture delivered at Union Theological Seminary, in New York City, in December 1919, denied that any Emperor was ever worshipped during his lifetime; but Dr Kato declares that instances of such worship in Japanese history are too numerous to enumerate, and states emphatically that when thousands of Japanese gathered in front of the Imperial palace where the previous Emperor lay dying, in 1912, they directed their prayers for his recovery to no other god, but to the dying ruler himself in his divine capacity.

In the second chapter Dr Kato takes up the question of what similarity there exists between the mental attitude we describe as religious faith and the Japanese 'Chu-ko,' the accepted term for the attitude of loyal subjects towards the occupant of the throne. 'Chu,' literally translated, means loyalty, and 'Ko' means filial piety, but this is a case where a literal translation misrepresents the original, for the words 'loyalty and filial piety' make no such impact upon the consciousness of the European as the word 'Chu-ko' does upon that of the Japanese.

Dr Kato discusses the nature of religious faith in a very satisfactory manner, finding its essence in absolute trust in and complete personal self-surrender to the object of worship. He quotes as illustrations of such faith Abraham, the father of those who walk by faith, as shown in his sacrifice of Isaac; and Job, who said in his extremity, 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.' Similar expressions are quoted from Shinran, the founder of Shinshu Buddhism, and from other writers who make faith the basis of religion. He then argues that the mental attitude of the Japanese heroes who have shown so brilliantly the spirit of self-surrender and self-forgetfulness in their relation to the Emperor is essentially the same as that of Abraham and Job, the difference being in the object of faith, and not at all in the nature of the faith itself. ‘That the object of such faith,’ he says, ‘is in the one case God transcending nature, and in the other God revealed in human form, results from the fact that the Emperor occupies for the Japanese the place of the one whom the Jews called God.’

The author insists that this faith is religious faith. ‘Chu-ko’ is not merely morality, it is religion. No Christian can oppose the watering down of his religion into mere ethics more earnestly than does Dr Kato. In his view the vital element in Shinto is precisely this religious attitude towards the throne. ‘Shinto,’ he says, ‘is not merely a moral consciousness dealing with secular affairs. The essence of it, subjectively considered, is found in that attitude of “Chu-ko” which is equivalent to religious faith. This is Mikadoism, the characteristic product of our national spirit, which worships the divinity in the Emperor. This Mikadoism is the true life of Shinto, and considered from this point of view Shinto is a religion.’ He then proceeds to answer the objection that such an attitude of absolute self-surrender and unquestioning obedience is slavish by pointing out that it is voluntary for the believer, and that such voluntary self-surrender is the highest liberty—an argument in which every Christian will join him, if the object of such faith be truly divine.

The third chapter is devoted to a learned discussion of the nature of religion, introduced to support the author’s main contention that Shinto, with Emperor Worship as its vital element, is a religion and truly entitled to rank as such. The essential thing in religion he finds to be the relation of the human to the divine. His definition of religion is as follows: ‘Religion is a practical mode of expression of man’s mind towards the divine.’ The relation between the human and the divine in religion may be so close that the two practically coalesce, as in Buddhism; or so distant that the ministry of angels is required to maintain any connexion at all, as in Judaism and Mohammedanism; but in any case, the essential question with regard to any religion is: 'How does it relate us to God?' In dealing with this problem of man's relation to God the intellect finds satisfaction in dogma; the feelings, in faith; the will, in worship. Indispensable to religion are faith, worship and authority. Belief in immortality is not essential to constitute religion. According to Dr Kato, even the Judaism of the Old Testament had no such belief.

Having shown in his first chapter that the Emperor is to be regarded as truly divine, in his second that the attitude of the true Japanese towards His Majesty is one of religious faith, and in his third that Mikadoism has all the elements of religion, the author feels that it is time to define more closely the sense in which the Emperor is called God. This he does in the fourth chapter. He first divides all religions into two classes, which he calls, after Tiele of Leyden, 'theanthropic' and 'theocratic' religions. Christianity, Judaism and Mohammedanism belong to the latter, all other religions to the former class. These terms are rendered into Japanese as 'Shin-Jin-Do-Kaku-Kyo' (God-Man-Same-Qualifications-Religion) and 'Shin-Jin-Ken-Kaku-Kyo' (God-Man-Disparity-Qualifications-Religion). In the latter there is a vast disparity of nature and qualifications between God and man. The deity is represented as being infinitely removed from the human sphere, inconceivably transcendent in all his being and attributes. In the former class of religions there is no such sharp line of demarcation between the two. Gods become men and men become gods quite readily.

Dr Kato proceeds to show that under the influence of this theanthropic conception of God, the Japanese have come to worship many natural objects, animals, insects, etc., indeed anything that inspires in the beholder a feeling of admiration or awe. Neither the word he borrows from Tiele, ‘theanthropic,’ nor his own word, ‘Shin-Jin-Do-Kaku-Kyo,’ however, naturally covers such a phenomenon. He would have expressed himself both more intelligibly and more scientifically if he had been content to adopt the ordinary division into theistic and pantheistic religions, for that is what the distinction comes down to in the end. The Japanese conception of the deity is pantheistic. There is for them behind the world of phenomena, as its ultimate energy, no great ‘I am,’ but an infinite ‘It is,’ and this everlasting ‘It’ manifests itself, to quote Dr Kato’s enumeration, in the wolf (called in Japanese ‘O-kami,’ great god), in serpents, in white deer and white boars, in silk-worms, in lice, in the sun, moon, mountains, rivers, seas, trees, grass, etc., as well as in the ancient heroes and in the Emperor of Japan. Naturally, there is a difference of manifestation of the divine. With such a conception, deification of the Emperor does not mean exactly the same thing to a Japanese that it means to a Christian when he believes in the incarnation of the Son of God. What is incomprehensible to one steeped in the conceptions of theistic religion, that there should be innumerable incarnations, some of a very low order, is perfectly natural from a pantheistic standpoint.

In the fifth chapter the author continues to unfold the religious nature of Shinto, and at every point opposes those who wish to represent it as a non-religious patriotic cult in commemoration of the national heroes. Shinto, he points out, deals with the relation between man and God, prayer is a prominent part of its ceremonies, it has prophets and prophetesses (‘Mi-ko,’ august children of God) who speak under divine inspiration, priests who minister in divine things and a competent source of doctrinal authority. ‘Although it does not appeal to the authority of a Founder, or of sacred books, it has a source of doctrinal authority far beyond these; for as a national religion Shinto accepts as its doctrinal authority directly the authority of the State. When, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was perceived that Roman Catholicism, which had then recently come to our country, opposed and destroyed the Shinto and Buddhist sanctuaries, and was in no way to be harmonized with our national customs, the Tokugawa government recognized herein a danger to the State, and strictly prohibited it, even though it involved an appeal to arms. In this case the authority of the State was directly the source of doctrinal authority for Shinto, the national religion.'

Dr Kato uncompromisingly maintains the religious character of the shrines, their festivals and ceremonies, against any who seek by a denial of such religious nature to smooth over the transition period or to gloss over the inconsistency between the guarantee of religious freedom and official insistence upon the attendance of students and others at such ceremonies. 'I find it difficult to understand,' he says, 'why a ceremony which is called religious when performed in a Buddhist temple should be called secular when performed in a Shinto shrine. . . . Shinto shrines are not merely buildings in which we commemorate the virtues of ancient heroes. The acts performed in the festivals are of a religious nature, and the ceremonies performed there are religion pure and simple. Whoever says that this is not religion is distorting the facts of the case and disparaging the shrines.'

As remarked in the beginning of this article, there is in progress a revival of Shinto. Instead of being overwhelmed by the modern ideas that have deluged Japan, it is standing up under them very well indeed, at least for the present. Here, then, we have this striking phenomenon, that while the national religions of Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome and all other countries have disappeared before the advance of the world religions, Shinto alone, although for centuries in close contact with Confucianism and Buddhism, has not only maintained intact its own character as a religion but has actually grown under the stimulus of such contact into a philosophical and ethical system, stronger to-day than ever. To what cause must this fact be attributed? Dr Kato's answer is emphatic: 'That Shinto has become rich in moral and intellectual elements which do not suffer by comparison with those of Christianity, to say nothing of Confucianism and Buddhism, is because it has had as its centre the Imperial Dynasty, unbroken from ages eternal.' 'If it is the boast of India that in the world religion that emanated from her she produced Buddha Sakyamuni, the saviour of the spiritual world; and the boast of Judaea that she counts among her sons Jesus, the redeemer of the world; it is enough for Japan to boast that she has been from generation to generation under the sway of Emperors who, in an unbroken line, ascended the throne of imperial, that is to say of divine dignity.'

He goes on to say that the Jews cherished the hope of a political Messiah. When this great hope seemed unattainable, Christianity arose through the transference of emphasis to a moral and spiritual kingship. Likewise the hopes of ancient India, even before the days of Buddha, were centred in the coming of Cakravarti Rajah, the ideal king, and if Buddha had accepted political supremacy this might have been his mission; but he, too, turned aside after moral and spiritual leadership. The great Messianic ideal which these ancient nations vainly longed for, the Japanese possess, says Dr Kato, in the divine Imperial Dynasty, and thus we see, rising in the eastern heavens, that great hope of humanity, Messiah the Prince.

Finally, Dr Kato holds out to Christianity the hand of peace and conciliation in the following words: 'The spirit of the present age is different from the spirit of the century in which Xavier came to Japan. If the Christians, in the spirit of this new age, will study the spirit which has animated our country in the past and will arrive at a complete understanding thereof, I believe that the time will come when, in a spirit of religious brotherhood, we shall be able to come together in one assembly hall, and making no mention of Buddhism, or Christianity, or even of Shinto, we shall, with smiling faces, clasp one another's hands.'

This entire discussion of Dr Kato's helps materially to clear up the questions that have been agitating the Christian people in Japan with regard to the religious character of the Shinto shrines, and the sense in which the Emperor is called divine. The Japanese word for a Shinto shrine is Jin-sha, and the word Jin is the same as the word Kami, usually translated God. The correctness of this translation has been much questioned, especially in China, where eminent missionaries have maintained with great earnestness that our word God should never be so rendered, but should always be translated by Shangti, or, as read in Japan, Jo-Tei, Supreme Ruler. Many Japanese argue that Kami means something worthy of reverence or admiration, and that to acknowledge some one or some thing as a Kami is not inconsistent with monotheistic faith.

In the light of Dr Kato's discussion, it is clear that this reasoning is correct in so far that the word Kami does not have the full content of our word God. It does not mean the eternal and sole Creator of heaven and earth. If the word God always and only means this, another expression must be found as the equivalent of Kami. The Emperor, according to our author, is a Kami, but he never suggests that he is the only Kami, or that he is the Creator. Indeed, both of these conceptions are utterly foreign to the whole Shinto system. However, if we thus rigidly limit the meaning of the English word God to the full Christian conception, how would a plural of this term ever be possible? And if no plural, how is a violation of the first commandment possible? The term God must bear not only the supreme meaning but also one low enough to make a prohibition of worshipping other gods intelligible. To be a violation of the first commandment, and thus incompatible with Christianity, the worship or reverence offered to such objects must in some measure invade the prerogatives of the Creator. It is clear that the worship of the Emperor as God, as described and defended by Dr Kato, does claim for him something that, on Christian principles, can be yielded to no one but the Creator. To be sure, such worship of the Emperor in no way excludes the worship as gods of many others, and yet among these many gods he is God. He takes the place of Jehovah as the supreme object of worship. He is entitled to receive from every Japanese such absolute trust and self-surrender as is identical with religious faith. He prescribes not only what men ought to do but also what they ought to believe.

Other Japanese scholars agree with Dr Kato. Dr Shinkichi Uesugi, for example, in an article published in the *Taiyo* (*The Sun*), in April 1913, says: 'The Educational Rescript issued in 1889 is the fundamental principle of the moral activity of the Japanese people. . . . It is a rescript from the Emperor. For this reason and for this reason alone it is implicitly obeyed by the millions of Japan. . . . By obedience to that which the Emperor commands we develop and perfect our lives, and by keeping on always in this way we reach the highest step in moral progress. To serve Him, never doubting, never fearing, preserving thus our hearts in the highest peace and joy, giving ourselves up to Him, body and soul, turning aside to nothing else, in zealous obedience to the doctrines of Mikadoism—this is indeed the marrow of Japanese ethics and the tap-root of our national character. For this reason the Imperial Rescript transcends all criticism. The standard of right and wrong, good and evil, is found only in the Imperial will.'

That such an attitude as this towards the Emperor is genuine deification, demanding for him what can properly be yielded only to God, and that it is therefore utterly inconsistent with Christianity, is too evident to call for discussion. Writers of the school of Dr Kato and Dr Uesugi are fond of reminding their readers that Shinto has triumphed over Confucianism and Buddhism by subjecting them to a process of Japanization. They are quite willing to make peace with Christianity upon the same terms, and express the utmost confidence that only if Christianity is willing to accept these terms can their country ever be Christianized. The cases, however, are not parallel. It is easy for one pantheistic religion, like Buddhism, to admit into its pantheon the gods of another. Upon such terms Christianity might have had peace with the religions of ancient Rome. A compromise between theism and pantheism is quite another thing.

This book of Dr Kato's is particularly interesting and remarkable because it is an attempt, I think the first attempt, by a scholar trained in the methods of modern thought, to restate the principles of Shinto in modern terms and to relate them to other departments of human knowledge. In other words, we have here the beginnings of a Shinto systematic theology, the awakening to intellectual self-consciousness of an age-long and primitive religion. A man who has learned to think philosophically must either throw overboard the faith of his childhood or he must learn to restate it in terms that can satisfy his intellect. We have all had that experience personally. Christianity had that experience historically in the centuries before Nicæa and Chalcydon. By far the greater number of men in Japan who have received the higher culture adopt the former alternative and have no religion at all. If they continue to observe outwardly any religious rites, they try to prove to themselves and others that these have no religious significance. It is intensely interesting, therefore, to find in Dr Kato a man who has taken the other course. Every one who has passed through a somewhat similar experience will be attracted to a man who seeks to preserve for himself and his people by restatement and scientific formulation a faith which is sacred to him, and which he sincerely believes to be essential to the moral and political welfare of his country.

In this work Dr Kato has been influenced to a marked degree not only by philosophy but by Christian theology. Take, for instance, the following passage (pages 213, 214): 'When the Emperor turns to the people below him, he is Ara-hito-kami, or Aki-tsu-kami (God incarnate), but when he turns towards his divine Ancestors, he occupies the position of a man. . . . There are in the Emperor two natures, a divine nature and a human nature.' Here the author is not only clearly influenced by the Christian doctrine of the two natures in Christ, but, it seems to me, quite needlessly so; for however necessary this doctrine may be under a theistic system, to explain the God-Man under a pantheistic system, it is superfluous.

This helps us to understand the appearance of novelty which led Dr Basil Hall Chamberlain to speak of the 'invention of a new religion.' It is new—in statement. Probably no ancient Shintoist ever dreamed of such a thing as two natures in the Emperor, or ever said that 'the standard of right and wrong, good and evil, is found only in the imperial will.' Some of the terminology also is new. Such terms as Ko-do and Tenno-kyo, used by Dr Uesugi and Dr Kato, are not to be found in the dictionary. They are not only new but they are such as could not have arisen without a knowledge of English, being merely translations of the term Mikadoism. Nevertheless, these men would sincerely and rightly disclaim any 'invention' of these doctrines, for what they have made explicit was always implicit in the faith of the people. Dr Chamberlain thought, in 1912, that only the educated classes were affected by the 'new invention,' and that the masses clung rather to the Buddhist beliefs of their forefathers. That could not now be maintained. On the contrary, such new and popular religions as Kon-ko-kyo and Ten-ri-kyo (the latter with a missionary in London!), which find their adherents almost exclusively among the ignorant classes, have as their chief stock in trade the same extreme deification of the Emperor, with the consequent exaltation of Japan as the chosen nation destined to be by right of inherent superiority the dominant power of the world, with the imperial family as the new Messiah.

The following extract appeared in the *Niroku*, and was translated in the *Japan Advertiser* of May 9, 1919: 'The Imperial Family of Japan is the parent, not only of her sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. In the eyes of the Imperial Family all races are one and the same. It is above all racial considerations. All human disputes, therefore, may be settled in accordance with its immaculate justice. The League of Nations proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war can only attain its real object by placing the Imperial Family of Japan at its head; for to attain its object the League must have a strong punitive force of a super-national and super-racial character, and this can be found only in the Imperial Family of Japan.'

In the Ten-ri-kyo magazine, the *Michi no Tomo*, of September 1914, we find the following: 'Japan is the parent nation of the world. It is the source whence the salvation of all nations proceeds. He who is hostile to this nation opposes the will of God. For this reason we, the believers in Ten-ri-kyo, are resolved to serve the divine and imperial will.'

Such a devoted, not to say fanatical belief in Emperor Worship and in Japan's place as the divine country is not felt by Japanese Buddhists to be at all inconsistent with their faith. The most ardent Buddhist sect of the present time is the sect of Nichiren. In their magazine, the *Koku-ju Shimbun*, in 1912, the editor claims that Gautama Buddha was an incarnation of Amaterasu O Mi Kami, the Sun Goddess, the original Ancestress of the imperial line, and thus supports his assertion that Buddhism originated in Japan, not in India as is mistakenly supposed. He then goes on to say: 'This is true not only of Buddhism. We have nothing to do with the Christian ideas propagated by the Christians, but Christ Himself was a holy man whose mission was to make known in the Occident the Japanese Koku-tai,' i.e. Emperor Worship.

Such extravagant statements are of interest mainly as they show how general and extreme are the Shinto ideas which have hitherto lain, as one might say, dormant in the consciousness of the Japanese people, but which are now, under the stimuli of education, awakening to self-consciousness, and which have found an able expounder and defender in Dr Genchi Kato. It is only fair to state that there are not a few Japanese who reject and ridicule these extremes of Emperor Worship. Dr Uesugi's article, quoted above, was answered in the next issue of the same magazine by Dr Ichimura, a professor in the Imperial University of Kyoto. Many of the intelligent people inside and outside the Christian circle sympathize with this opposition, but very little is said in public and it is difficult to know how far such dissent extends. The position taken by Dr Kato and others is so directly opposed to the spirit of the age that they will in the long run have a hard time holding the people to this form of faith.

Yet it is dangerous to prophesy. Shinto, awakened to self-consciousness, preached in modern terms, defended with modern intellectual weapons, and backed by the organized power of the Government, may yet prove a very formidable opponent. If the Christian forces have to bear the full brunt of the conflict alone, the situation may become serious, for Dr Kato's principles contain the seeds of blind fanaticism and bitter persecution. He himself, of course, has no such idea as that, but we know what such principles have led to in times gone by, and there is no reason to think they would produce any other result in Japan, except for the altered state of the world, the influx of western ideas and the growth of the spirit of democracy.

ALBERTUS PIETERS

FOREIGN MISSIONS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By G. F. BARBOUR, D.Phil.

I

It is a commonplace to state that the missionary ideal, like other great principles of thought and action, has passed in the last two or three generations from an individualistic to a social phase, and thence to a more and more clearly apprehended world outlook. This generalization needs, it is true, to be qualified from either side; for the world outlook can never have been lacking where men and women made the great venture implied in missionary work, and it is equally true that no religious movement can accomplish much, in our day or any other, if it forgets that the sources of life and power lie hidden in the hearts and wills of individuals, and that no reform can be permanent which fails to redeem men and women and to mould their characters anew. Yet these qualifications do not disprove the statement that there has been a change of orientation, and that the Gospel, which was once thought of primarily as the dynamic of individual salvation, now claims men's allegiance first of all as the hope of a divided, perplexed, sorrow-stricken world.

Another change of emphasis—or another aspect of the same change—is due to the wider recognition in our time of the complexity of human nature. Man's nature is many-sided yet one, nor can he find salvation in any full sense apart from his fellows. To adopt the simplest analysis, we find in him body and mind as well as spirit. Body and mind are the great avenues leading to the central fastness of the spirit, and if they are blocked by serious disorders the spirit remains inaccessible to the entrance of truth. Hence medical and educational missions have proved themselves at once the valued auxiliaries and the essential complement of the more purely evangelistic side of missionary work. Further, the complete life of man is life in a community, and this is not less but more true if he becomes a Christian. He then needs the Christian environment in which the social virtues, and not least the virtues of industry and order, may seed themselves and bear fruit in a steady, purposeful contribution, both material and spiritual, to the common good. So in course of time medical and educational missions came to be supplemented by industrial missions, in order that the newly-won Christian might 'be furnished completely unto every good work' (2 Tim. iii. 17, R.V.).

Further, this need for the elements of a communal life, founded in security and industry, has brought the missionary into the sphere of administration, either as the exposer of economic and political injustice, or as the trusted adviser of governments which desired to protect the interests of their more backward subjects and so turned naturally to the men who best understood the native mind. So important had this aspect of missionary activity become by the beginning of the present century that one of the commissions which prepared reports for the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 gave its whole time to investigating the relation of missions to governments.

In both these ways the missionary idea has grown broader and more comprehensive. In a highly unified world, the field is *one* in a sense hardly conceived in earlier days ; and, in a world in which our most strenuous efforts to maintain a theoretic distinction between the sacred and secular break down before the obdurate unity of human nature, missions and governments must endeavour to come to some reasonable understanding as to their respective shares in a work which, alone and unaided, neither can carry to perfection. But if these two facts are brought together and seen in their natural and vital relation, the conclusion is inevitable that the world organization of foreign missions, to which the Edinburgh Conference summoned the churches, must have as its complement the organization of the secular powers or governments of the world for purposes which transcend the frontiers and exceed the powers of any single nation or group of nations.

Nor is this conclusion a new one. The dream of a world peace secured by an authority as wide as civilization is very old, even in its relation to the Christian Church, although it has been lost sight of for long periods of the Church's history. St Paul had a keen sense of indebtedness to the peace-bringing and law-sustaining work of the Roman power, and the idea that the progress of Rome to world power formed part of the *preparatio evangelica* was clearly held in the post-apostolic age. More than a thousand years later, Dante pointed the way to an organization of the world which should respect the diversity of the different peoples but should provide for the common regulation of those matters in which all had a common concern. Of these universal interests the chief was peace, 'the greatest of blessings which the greatest of Saviours' had left to His followers.[1] In all its details Dante's great conception bears the marks and shares the limitations of its age, but its central and governing principle has lost none of its validity—that the common interests of mankind should be guarded by a common authority, and that the secular and spiritual powers should each regard itself as called to fulfil a special part in the divine economy, each respecting the other and abstaining from all attempts to invade the sphere of the other.

Our own age has heard the re-affirmation—if it has as yet seen only the first steps towards the accomplishment—of this great and profoundly Christian ideal. We must indeed acknowledge that, as regards the formation of the League of Nations, even these first steps can be but halting without the driving power and clearness of vision which belong to the great American democracy. Some steps can, however, be taken—or rather have been taken—which are of present significance and of great hope for the future. If in what follows it seems that too much is claimed for the League, it must be understood that these claims and hopes can only find fulfilment in a League strengthened by the accession of every great self-governing people.

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[1] *De Monarchia*, I. iv ; cf. xiv.

It is, however, significant that the decade which looked forth upon the most terrible and widespread of wars should also have seen two constructive movements which may yet prove to be wider still in scope ; and that of these the movement for religious co-operation should have been the pioneer. On the one hand, there has been the World Missionary Conference, followed by plans for an even greater sequel, the World Conference on Faith and Order ; on the other, the Covenant of the League of Nations. Of each it may be said that it represents no new ideal, but what is new is the element of equality and self-government which characterizes both. We may, indeed we must, recognize the presence in the Covenant of elements of a quite different character. It is admittedly, in its present form, only in part democratic, yet it is well also to consider how great an advance it represents in this respect on the conceptions of world polity in the past—on the actual world empire in which St Paul travelled and preached, or the ideal world empire of which Dante dreamed. And to those within the churches who criticize the Covenant as undemocratic, it may be replied, if the *argumentum ad homines* be allowed, that the day which sees a federation of free, evangelical churches in all lands may also see the nations united in the freedom and equality of a League of Nations developed far beyond the letter of the present scheme. Neither goal can be looked upon as near at hand, yet he would be a bold man who should say which is nearer ; and however long the journey, it is worth all the toil involved. It is something that so large a company, both of statesmen and of leaders in the churches, should be employed in surveying the country to be traversed and laying down the main landmarks to be passed on the way from suspicion and rivalry to co-operation in fruitful service.

II

But from these very general considerations I propose to turn in the remainder of this paper to the enumeration of certain ways in which the League of Nations, working within the limitations of the existing Covenant, can help the cause of Christian missions, and (more briefly) of the services which the missionary spirit can render to the League.

(1) No service which a better ordering of international affairs can render to missionary enterprise is comparable in importance to the object which gave its first impetus to the formation of a League of Nations—the prevention of war. War, and especially war between professedly Christian powers, not only makes plain the past failure of Christian forces, but hinders them in their present work and handicaps them for the future. We do not, indeed, forget that the Master came to send 'not peace, but a sword' (Matt. x. 34); and that the missionary Church is in a special sense described as 'the Church militant.' Even the literal and actual warfare carried on between nation and nation may, in a wonderful way, be at times overruled for the purifying and establishing of the Church, since it has often grown weak in prosperity and revived amid danger and violence.[1] But in the normal order of life peace is the greatest interest of the missionary cause.

The mere waste of the capital accumulated by the toil of past generations is serious enough, since it involves the reduction of the standard of living of many thousands in different countries, among whom are numbered many of the most faithful supporters of missionary work. The dislocation of the eastern exchanges—a result of the war which few can have foreseen in its full seriousness—has also placed a new and particularly galling burden on the finances of the societies in Europe, and to a less degree in the United States. Thus missionary enterprise is acutely affected and injured even by the indirect and incidental reactions of war.[1]

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[1] Dr Christie's book, *Thirty Years in Moukden* (London: Constable. 1914), gives a most vivid impression of the power of recovery of a native church from a thrice-repeated visitation of war and revolution which for the time seemed to be of crushing and paralyzing force.

But the economic loss is of small account compared with the human loss, in lives laid down or bodies crippled and unable to carry out the promptings of the spirit. Of those who fell in the late war, not a few had already dedicated their lives to the missionary calling, and a very great number might afterwards have heard the same call, or become steady supporters in the home field: they had shown the possibilities that were in them by their response to the call of the ideal in another form. Of all these the loss cannot be computed. But there is another consequence of the war which, from the missionary standpoint, is perhaps more serious still. There is the moral effect on the non-Christian world of the sight of the most powerful nations of the world, many of them claiming to be guided by Christian principles, locked in a deadly conflict and proclaiming that it must be fought out to the bitter end. If the inquirer from another continent, the heir to another civilization, points first to the fifteen centuries during which the Christian Church has had the opportunity to mould the life and policy of Europe, and then to the statecraft which led up to 1914, and if he applies here the test, ‘By their fruits ye shall know them,’ what answer is left to the Christian apologist?

But it is needless to labour this argument further. It must be clear to all who have at heart the extension of

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[1] In addition to these general effects there are, one need hardly add, particular disasters, more restricted but intensely serious, such as the cessation or crippling of all mission work in the Near East and the displacement of the German missions in various tropical countries.

Christianity that the success of the cause depends in a very great degree upon the avoidance of any future war comparable to that of 1914–8. It is not my purpose to consider here the complex questions raised by the form of the clauses in the Covenant providing for arbitration and conciliation ; but only to point out, since there is no other scheme for the maintenance of peace before the world at present which has won so wide a measure of general agreement, that the hopes of missionary enterprise are most closely bound up with its success in achieving its first object.

(2) But, in addition to the preventive work of the League (the avoiding of war), it has an essential constructive side (the regulation of international affairs in times of peace), which is only less important to the interests of Christian missions. Indeed the Preamble to the Covenant places the latter object in the forefront, though its elaboration took place long after the idea of a 'League to Enforce Peace' had been widely accepted. The words are as follows : 'In order to promote international co-operation, and to achieve international peace and security . . .' And missionary enterprise depends at many points upon the promotion and the maintenance of international co-operation.

In this connexion we must note the provisions of Article 23 of the Covenant, which include (subsection (*a*)) the securing of 'fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children' both within and without the territory of members of the League. Reference has already been made to the important work of industrial missions in opening up the possibility of a life of steady, remunerative and self-respecting work to bodies of native Christians. But in this sphere the power of the missionary is limited, and the results of his work will become far more stable and secure if those whom he has trained in ways of industry are protected from victimization and secured in the results of their labour. Nor can we overestimate the value of the labour clauses of the Covenant, if they are made proper use of by the various governments in avoiding the dangers involved in the transition from a primitive to a highly industrialized order of society.

But if this is of importance for the industrial missionary, the provisions in Articles 23 (*f*) and 25 regarding 'steps to be taken in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease' are of not less vital consequence for his medical colleague. More and more, preventive medicine takes its place as the ally, or the advance guard, of curative medicine; and the sphere of the former, if its work is to be effective, must be constantly enlarged. For the very success of the nineteenth century in improving and cheapening means of communication made the great problem of health control an essentially international one, since it caused the carrying of disease from continent to continent with a rapidity unknown before.[1] Of the dangers springing from this source a striking example was the influenza epidemic of 1918–9, which, according to a recent authoritative statement, was the direct occasion of more deaths than took place on all the battle fronts in over four years of war. Thus, if the League rises to the height of its opportunity in this section of its work, medical missions will find themselves powerfully reinforced in their work of combating disease. For the proportion of the population of any country directly benefited by the work of mission hospitals must as a rule be small. As centres of light and knowledge, they have a value far beyond their actual magnitude; yet their work must in the main be curative, and only incidentally preventive. Thus the work of the medical missionary will be made at once easier and more fruitful if the government of the territory in which he works takes measures, indicated by the International Health and Research Bureau of the League, for the prevention of disease and the promotion of habits and surroundings which tend to health.

Under this heading there falls the obligation laid upon members of the League 'to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit ' (Article 23 (*e*)). In the opening up of new lines of communication and the removal of restrictions, artificial as well as natural, on those which already exist, there lies an essential service to the progress of missions. We know the use which St Paul made of the Roman roads, and of the seas kept open by Roman fleets, for the furtherance of the Gospel in his day. Even with all the help that the administrative work of Rome could give him, travelling was no luxurious affair for him—there were perils of waters, and of robbers to meet, as well as perils by his own countrymen and perils among false brethren (2 Cor. xi. 26) ; but the journeys which he made in weariness and painfulness would have been not difficult but quite impossible a century and a half earlier, before Pompey had driven the pirate fleets from the Levant and the great roads had penetrated the mountain chains which lay across his path. So also in our day means of communication are vital ; and the temporary interruption of them during the war has caused untold hardship to missionaries who, hard pressed at all times, have had to ' carry on ' with furloughs long overdue, and to await for months and years the outgoing workers for whom passages could not be found. Thus if the League of Nations or any other organization can restore and multiply the ruptured ties between the continents, that work will in itself greatly help the missionary cause.

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[1] Cf. the grim catalogue given by Sir Harry Johnston, *Views and Reviews*, pp. 224 f.

Nor is it superfluous to remember that, while a more settled world government may increase the means of communication between the continents, it rests with us all to say what type of men shall pass to and fro on the steamers, and what messages the cables or the wireless shall carry. As St Paul used the opportunities of his time for ends of which the Roman prætors and engineers never dreamt, so it is part of the responsibility of the Church to see that of those who go to far countries as representatives of the West not a few shall carry the light which had its first origin in the eastern sky ; and that along with those whose object is pleasure or gain there shall go others whose aim is 'not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'

(3) In addition to the preventive and constructive work of the League we may distinguish a third aspect, the protective, though the two latter cannot be rigidly separated. The chief portion of the Covenant under this heading is the long twenty-second Article, which lays down the principle of mandates in these words:

> To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the Covenant.

One could hardly find in a document of state, adhered to by many nations differing in tradition and in administrative experience, a more emphatic expression of the Christian principle that the wielders of power, political, financial or scientific, should use it for the benefit and not for the exploitation of the less fortunate. It might be described as a paraphrase, or rather an application on a great scale, of the precept of St Paul, 'We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves' (Rom. xv. 1). Some will doubtless question its value on that very ground, recalling the statements of lofty principles which preluded the Holy Alliance and even the unspeakable rule of Leopold on the Congo, or comparing the professions here made with the past record in tropical administration of certain signatories of the Covenant. Yet every declaration of a true and progressive principle by a large and important group of nations, even if some of them have not fully faced the arduousness of its performance, has the advantage that it erects a public, visible and widely acknowledged standard by which for the future the conduct of statesmen and administrators may be judged. The task of securing redress for the oppressed, and of exposing and checking the exploitation of primitive peoples, must be rendered more hopeful when those who stand for justice can point to the uncompromising statement in the Covenant of the responsibility of mandatory powers to the public opinion of the world.

When we examine the rest of Article 22, especially the paragraph designed to meet the needs of Central Africa, we see clearly the advantage to missionary work which the system of mandates holds out, if only that system is faithfully and steadily applied. For it lays down that these mandated territories must be governed,

> under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of . . . the military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

This is a comprehensive programme, the most obvious omission being that no provision is made for the safeguarding of the economic rights of the natives by securing them in tenure of land which they occupy and use for any productive purpose. But if the slave trade and slave-owning were abolished, if the trade in fiery liquors were stopped, if the importation of arms likely to be used for the destruction of human life were forbidden, and if trading monopolies could no longer be maintained for the benefit of the occupying power, the external conditions needed for missionary work and for the upbuilding of self-respecting native communities would be in great part assured. Certainly a heavy weight would be lifted from the hearts of many who have seen their efforts neutralized or brought to ruin by the impact of the white races on the people of the Dark Continent in its deadliest forms ; and a great step would be taken towards the removal of the heavy accusation which John Dryden (assuredly no sentimentalist) brought over two centuries ago in the scathing lines:

> Those are the manufactures we export;
> And these the missioners our zeal hath made:
> For, with my country's pardon be it said,
> Religion is the least of all our trade.[1]

But the Covenant may be further criticized in regard to the mandatory system, since it is only applied to territories taken from Germany and her late allies. Only in regard to these is a yearly report to be required from the occupying power to the Mandatory Commission of the League of Nations. Yet the reply already given holds good here also, that, unless the whole system is allowed to become inoperative, it will supply a standard applicable to the administration of other territories than those transferred from one power to another under the Peace Treaty. Even now its embodiment in the Covenant provides a fulcrum on which leverage may be obtained for the improvement of native administration elsewhere.

Moreover a similar, though less detailed, provision is already made in the following Article (23, subsections (*b*), (*c*), (*d*)), which places a general obligation on members of the League, 'to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control,' and entrusts the League with the general duty of controlling the traffic in women and children, that in opium and other dangerous drugs, and, where necessary, that in arms and ammunition. There is no need to recount again the evil done by these traffics, or to repeat such a record as that of Great Britain during the nineteenth century in regard to the Indo-Chinese opium trade. This story, especially in its earlier chapters, has hindered the work and discredited the influence of British missions in the Far East; and, if the League can press steadily and consistently for the termination of such abuses, a great stumbling-block will be removed from the path of those who seek to commend the

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[1] *The Hind and the Panther*, Part II.

Christian message. Something also of the weight and authority of the western powers will be thrown on the side of those rulers, like Khama in Bechuanaland and many of the statesmen of China, who have striven to protect their peoples against corruption by the trade in liquor and drugs, fostered by nominally Christian nations.

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In all these ways the League of Nations, in so far as it proves effective in promoting its own declared objects, must also show itself an invaluable ally of missionary enterprise. But it is not less true that the latter, or rather the spirit which gives it birth and maintains its power, has an essential part to play in securing the ultimate success of the League, or of any organization which may at a later time take up the same great tasks. For the ideal of a world order based on justice and the protection of the weak, and aiming at an abiding and universal peace, is more than a mere aspiration, more even than the object of a moral imperative : it is a religious—nay, a specifically Christian—ideal ; and apart from the virtues of faith, hope and love, it can never find fulfilment.

For the great enemies of the League are of two classes. First there is the temper of scepticism, sometimes cynical in expression, but more often founded upon an interpretation of history which finds no room for new things in an old and strife-worn world, and which denies the possibility that great spiritual energies may be liberated to meet an unexampled situation and a supreme need. The fixity of human nature and of the great lines of hostile division between nations and races, is the assumption underlying much of the faint-heartedness which contents itself with criticizing all far-reaching schemes for international co-operation. Against this spirit there is only one remedy. It is the rediscovery of these springs of faith and hope from which the pioneer missionaries, whether of the first or of the nineteenth century, drew their inspiration and their courage, refusing to reckon as decisive either the outward poverty of their own resources or the immense forces arrayed against them. They believed that their commission was drawn from a Power greater than any on earth, and so they went forward hopefully. Nor can the difficulties in the way of a peaceful and harmonious world order be overcome by any dynamic less potent than the faith that its attainment (it may be in some as yet unapprehended form) is in the line of the Divine Purpose, and so must finally come to pass.

The second temper which has to be overcome is that of suspicion and hatred. A narrow particularism, reckless of the claims of humanity as a whole, lit the flame of the great war and provided its most deadly fuel; nor has it subsided with the attainment of a nominal peace. It can only be subdued by a wider and higher enthusiasm, that of the Kingdom into which the nations shall bring their glory and honour—without losing their identity or sacrificing their best and most truly characteristic gifts. But this enthusiasm is the offspring of love, or if the word seem unnatural when thus applied in the international sphere, of brotherhood and mutual understanding. We know how hard it is to gain this spirit in the narrowly political sphere, where men come together not to seek means of reconciliation or to learn more of the needs or desires of others. They rather come as advocates of incompatible points of view, each determined to concede nothing lest concession be taken for weakness; and so in the end there is no possible issue but war—the war of classes or of nations. But in such gatherings as those of the World Students' Christian Federation the atmosphere is wholly different. Meeting on the platform of a common faith, believing in brotherhood not as a mere ideal but as a reality founded on a common sonship and one day to be fully realized in a wide spiritual commonwealth, men of different races can strive to find a solution of even the most embittered problem; and, if no definite solution be found, yet the very effort to reach it has carried them away from the poisoned atmosphere of hatred into something of the liberty of the sons of God. In this air alone can the League of Nations, or any other organization for world brotherhood, live and breathe and grow strong.

G. F. Barbour

NATIONALITY AND MISSIONS

By J. H. OLDHAM

The consciousness of nationality is at the present time one of the most powerful and active forces of which Christian missions have to take account. It is desirable therefore that those responsible for the conduct of missionary work should try to understand the nature and meaning of this force and the attitude which Christian missions should take towards it.

The first step is to define as clearly as we can what we mean by nationality. It is something distinct on the one hand from the state. The state is a political conception, while nationality has a meaning apart from political organization. It is true that the word nation as generally used conveys the idea of a people organized for political purposes. But the existence of the two words nation and nationality from the same root suggests a difference which needs to be expressed. Whether nationality and the state should always coincide may be a matter for debate. But in many instances they do not coincide. A state may include several nationalities, as the Austrian Empire did while it existed and the British Commonwealth does to-day. On the other hand, people of the same nationality may owe allegiance to different governments as did the Poles, Roumanians and other peoples before the war.

Nationality must be distinguished, on the other hand, from race. While common racial origin may play a large part in the formation of a nation, most existing nations are the product of different racial stocks. The English nation is the product of British, Saxon, Norman and many other elements. American nationality is the result of the blending of many separate races and the assimilation of new racial elements is still going on. Common physical origin is manifestly a comparatively small element in nationality.

Nationality is thus different from the state, which is political, and from race, which is physical. While these rest on the external facts of government and physical origin, nationality is largely the expression of a mental attitude. The bond of nationality is a feeling of national kinship and solidarity. Common racial origin, the possession of a common language and culture, union under the same form of government, enjoyment of the same national institutions may all contribute powerfully to the formation of this sentiment, but it is the consciousness of being bound together by common experiences, community of interest and devotion to common ideals, rather than any of the things which have helped to produce this consciousness that constitutes nationality.

Nationality in this sense of the consciousness of a common spiritual inheritance and of devotion to common ideals is one of the most valuable things in human life. It is a rich soil of corporate life in which the individual life can grow and expand. National achievements in action, art and literature, national institutions slowly built up by the labour, struggles and experience of successive generations are an inexhaustible storehouse from which the individual can draw nourishment and inspiration. The educational value of nationality is clearly shown in an essay by Mr A. E. Zimmern in his recent volume entitled *Nationality and Government.* 'As a teacher,' he says, 'I know that if you really want to influence anybody you must find something in him to work on. . . . And by far the best and the most useful leverage for this purpose is the appeal to nationality; because nationality is more than a creed or a doctrine or a code of conduct, it is an instinctive attachment; it recalls an atmosphere of precious memories, of vanished parents and friends, of old custom, of reverence, of home, and a sense of the brief span of human life as a link between immemorial generations, spreading backwards and forward.'[1]

The truth of this can be seen most readily when we observe the effects of denationalization where individuals cut off from their roots in an inherited tradition ape the forms and repeat the catch-words of an alien culture without having absorbed its soul and spirit. A definite and vigorous social tradition gives a strength and stability to character which is lacking in those who are without this mainstay. Cosmopolitanism is a poor and shallow soil for the growth of character. This needs the richer and more nourishing environment of nationality to attain its full maturity.

The nation, it is true, is not the only form of corporate life in which the individual can find support and nourishment. Within it there are smaller social groups such as the public school and trades union and all the various associations for particular purposes which sustain and mould and enrich the individual life. Some of these unite men in a fellowship that transcends natural boundaries. The future may create forms of human association which may in large part take the place which nationality at present fills in the life of mankind. But in the world as it is to-day the nation with its common memories, with its institutions and habits slowly formed by the labours of successive generations, with its common storehouse of past achievement in action, thought and artistic creation provides by far the richest soil in which the individual life can strike its roots.

Though nationality is thus in itself one of the best and richest of human possessions, it may like other good things be perverted to wrong ends. A nation no less than an individual may surrender itself to self-seeking aims. It may organize itself in opposition to other nations. It may regard the acquisition of new territory or of economic advantages as necessary for the realization of its national aspirations. The tendency in recent times has been for the national life to become more and more highly organized, and in the modern nation economic aims depending on military force for their realization are apt to dominate national policy. It is this materialistic and mechanical aspect of the life of western nations that Rabindranath Tagore so vehemently denounces in his lectures on *Nationalism.*

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[1] A. E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, pp. 74 ff.

When a people is menaced by political or economic domination by another nation or its cultural tradition imperilled by the invasion of a foreign civilization the feeling of nationality is stimulated to a high pitch. A policy of Anglicization or Russification or Germanization provokes in the subject peoples a strong natural reaction and forces nationality into political channels, since political liberty appears to be the only means through which the national spirit can find its true expression. The feeling of nationality when it is thus roused and stimulated by attempts to suppress it is apt to manifest itself in exaggerated forms and sometimes reaches a morbid self-consciousness.

Nationality is thus both for good and for evil one of the most powerful forces in human life. In its natural and legitimate sphere it is one of the most potent instruments in the hand of the teacher and educator. When perverted it may become the cause of the most bitter antagonism and the most terrible conflicts. Its tremendous hold over the minds of men has been shown in the recent war. Millions have been ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their national heritage, institutions and associations. In the course of the war the first spontaneous response to the claims of the larger national life developed among all the belligerent peoples into a reasoned conviction of the value of the special type of character and culture which had become distinctive of the nation. Rather than allow their ideals and the institutions developed under the influence of these ideals to perish or to suffer they were prepared to spend blood and treasure without stint. Nationality in the war proved itself stronger than the power of international finance; stronger than the solidarity of class, for labour on both sides in the main supported the national cause; stronger even than the bonds of religion, for Roman Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans fought on opposite sides.

A force so powerful is one which Christian missions cannot ignore. Among the peoples of Asia and Africa the sense of nationality has been stimulated by the experience and fear of political domination and economic exploitation by western nations. In the reaction against these political and economic dangers which threaten them these peoples have become more conscious that they possess a racial, social, intellectual and spiritual tradition different from that of western peoples, and they desire to defend this against the disintegrating influence of foreign ideas and customs. The danger in such a situation is lest in their revolt against western domination and reaction against western ideas they may reject the faith which comes to them through the medium of western civilization. If the weight of national feeling is thrown into the scales against Christian missions their task will be made immeasurably harder and they may find themselves confronted with almost invincible opposition.

The first necessity is that Christian missions should learn to distinguish clearly between the eternal truth and life which they seek to communicate and the particular forms which these have assumed at different periods and among different peoples. We are too apt to assume that the form in which we ourselves have experienced the blessings of Christianity represents the complete revelation of God to man. The Gospel as we have received it is inextricably bound up by innumerable strands with the whole intellectual and moral heritage of Europe and with the spiritual experience of western peoples. Among peoples with different mental and emotional characteristics, with a different history and different social institutions, the Gospel in proportion as it is really apprehended by them must inevitably express itself in forms of thought and worship different from ours. It is not our part as foreigners to attempt to orientalize Christianity. We can be only what we are and preach the Gospel only as we ourselves apprehend it. It would be as easy for us to change the colour of our skin as to divest ourselves of the modes of apprehending truth which are in us the product of an immemorial past. But while it is not our task to try to express Christianity in eastern dress we must be clearly aware that the transformation of its outward form must inevitably take place and that our task is fully accomplished only when the people to whom we bring our message have so completely made it their own that the transformation does actually come to pass.

Though the missionary cannot as a foreigner assist directly in the process by which the Christian message interweaves itself with the social and cultural heritage and so becomes a genuinely indigenous and national possession, he may make it his aim to understand the national inheritance of the people among whom he works and to help them to appreciate justly the elements of moral and spiritual worth in that tradition. He will desire to do this, first, because he realizes that only as Christianity becomes truly national and united by vital links with the inherited modes of thought and feeling of the people is there any hope of its finding widespread acceptance; and, secondly, because as an educator he is aware that, as has already been pointed out, individual character can attain to maturity and strength only when deeply rooted in a corporate life. The task is indeed a supremely difficult one. For many of the accepted ideas and standards and of the prevailing social customs have their roots in a non-Christian view of life, and there is a danger that Christianity in an environment of this nature may lose all or many of its distinctive features. It is noteworthy that converts are often more vehement than the missionary in their denunciation of the non-Christian systems from which they have separated themselves. In the light of the full day into which they have entered the twilight of their past appears to them the darkness of night. It is perhaps inevitable that the breach, if it is to take place at all, should be more or less complete. The somewhat iconoclastic methods of the earlier days of missionary effort may have been the only thing possible. But we can now see in many parts of the mission field that they brought loss as well as gain. On the one hand we are confronted with the undesirable fruits of denationalization; we recognize the fatal weakness of character in Christians who have been cut off from their roots in a corporate life and social tradition. On the other hand we find a growing desire on the part of the Christian community to claim its share and part in the national cultural inheritance. A recent issue of this Review contained an article by Mr K. T. Paul on 'How Missions Denationalize Indians.' Some of the statements in the article have been challenged, but its main contention that Indian Christianity should find expression in ways consonant with the national genius and tradition is indisputable. Christian missions must more and more study the customs, folklore, literature and art of non-Christian peoples with a view to making them the vehicles of an education which will be at once Christian and national.

Secondly, Christian missions must take a definite attitude towards the political and economic aspects of western nationalism. The opposition of the peoples of Asia to the political and commercial domination of the West is one of the greatest and most far-reaching issues of the modern world. The occupation of the continent of Africa by European powers is an historical fact of immense significance which has occurred during the lifetime of the present generation. In these contacts of the West with Asia and Africa there are ideal elements with which Christian missions can heartily co-operate. But there are also at work vast forces of selfishness, oppression and injustice which can only provoke among the peoples of Asia and Africa feelings of bitter antagonism. From these elements in the impact of western civilization it is essential that Christian missions should definitely dissociate themselves. It is not sufficient that they should ignore them as lying outside the religious sphere. The facts are there, and if the hearts of Asiatic and African peoples are embittered against western nations on account of their selfishness and injustice they will be steeled against the teaching of missionaries who are the representatives of these nations. The only means by which this danger can be averted is that it should become known and patent to all that those who bear the name of Christ are actively opposed to policies and practices of selfishness and injustice.

The distinction between the more ideal and the baser elements in western civilization can easily be recognized. Rabindranath Tagore, in the volume in which he so severely denounces the political nationalism of the western nations, acknowledges that this self-seeking nationalism does not represent the whole truth about the West. 'In the heart of Europe,' he says, 'runs the purest stream of human love, of love of justice, of spirit of self-sacrifice for higher ideals. The Christian culture of centuries has sunk deep in her life's love. In Europe we have seen noble minds who have ever stood for the rights of man irrespective of colour and creed; who have braved calumny and insult from their own people in fighting for humanity's cause and raising their voices against the mad orgies of militarism, against the rage for brutal retaliation or rapacity that sometimes takes possession of a whole people; who are always ready to make reparation for wrongs done in the past by their own nations and vainly attempt to stem the tide of cowardly injustice that flows unchecked because the resistance is weak and innocuous on the part of the injured. There are these knight errants of modern Europe who have not lost their faith in the disinterested love of freedom, in the ideals which own no geographical boundaries or national self-seeking. These are there to prove that the fountain head of the water of everlasting life has not run dry in Europe, and from thence she will have her rebirth time after time.'[1] If Christianity is to win the peoples of Asia and Africa it must be made clear to them that in the moral struggle to which this passage refers the weight of Christian influence is on the side of right and that Christians are the fearless champions of justice, fair-dealing and human brotherhood.

The task is far from easy. The line which separates faithful witness to Christian principle from advocacy of a particular political programme is often difficult to find. To reach a sound judgment in complex and intricate questions of political and economic relations demands wide knowledge and trained intelligence. It would be easy for missionary bodies to commit themselves to courses of action which would merit Burke's censure on those who turn aside from their proper business of religion to interfere in politics—' Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite.' But the recognition of these difficulties does not mean that the task should be avoided but that it must be approached with the necessary caution, knowledge and wisdom. If missionary bodies fail to enter their protest where it is needed against the unchristian elements in western nationalism their Christian witness is to that extent impaired. We cannot preach convincingly in word what we deny in national act and policy. In the ultimate mutual relations of different peoples in our complex modern world the range of missionary duty has expanded until it includes not only the winning of individual souls but the endeavour to Christianize the national policies of the professedly Christian nations, and the former part of the task will be handicapped if the latter is ignored. The appointment by the Federal

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[1] *Nationalism*, p. 66.

Council of the Churches of Christ in America of a Commission on Oriental Relations and the work undertaken by that Commission are steps in the right direction.

Our consideration of the subject has shown two great and important tasks to which Christian missions must address themselves in face of the awakened national consciousness which is so strong a force in the life of the peoples whom they seek to influence. The first is the necessity of understanding, appreciating and turning to the best educational use the national heritage of each race and people. The second is the duty of bearing Christian witness in respect of the materialistic and selfish expressions of western nationalism. But bound up with these tasks is the need for clear and careful thinking about the place of nationality in the Christian scheme of things. We need a Christian doctrine of nationality to enable us both to determine our own attitudes and to give the necessary guidance to those who are under the influence of strong currents of national feeling. It is possible here to offer the merest suggestion of lines of thought which need to be much more fully worked out.

For the Christian, nationality is not the ultimate loyalty. His highest allegiance is to the Christian fellowship. He cannot be indifferent to the claims of nationality, for the genius and tradition and spirit of the nation have made him what he is. He cannot divest himself of the duties of citizenship. The nation is a fact in the life of the world and we cannot set the fact aside as if it did not exist. There are many points at which the claims of national loyalty and of loyalty to humanity as a whole are difficult to reconcile and create perplexity for the Christian conscience. But there can be no doubt that our great need to-day in a world fevered and torn by national antagonisms is to be recalled to the simple and universal things, and to realize how much more fundamental are the things that unite men than those that divide them. We need a new vision of eternal things in order that the things of time may be seen in their true proportions and fall into their proper place. We need a new conviction that the real and ultimate conflict is not between peoples but between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, love and hate. The true fellowship is between those who pray and labour for the coming of God's kingdom. One of the most urgent tasks before us is to revive and re-create the Church of Christ as a living fellowship uniting in the bonds of Christian love men of all nations. Nothing would do more to heal the wounds of the world than the clear unequivocal witness of the Church to this great truth of its own being.

Within this witness and ultimate loyalty there is free room for the expression of national loyalties. These are to be encouraged and not repressed. For love for one's country is the most powerful motive which can bring about its regeneration. As Mr G. K. Chesterton has told us, the one hope of saving Pimlico—or any other neighbourhood—is that somebody should love it ; 'if there arose a man who loved Pimlico, then Pimlico would rise into ivory towers and golden pinnacles.' This love with its redemptive power is not incompatible with the higher and ultimate loyalty. It may minister to it. 'The loyal,' Professor Josiah Royce truly says, 'are, in ideal, essentially kin. If they grow really wise, they observe this fact. The spirit that loves the community learns to prize itself as a spirit that, in all who are dominated by it, is essentially one, despite the variety of special causes, of nationalities, or of customs. The logical development of the loyal spirit is therefore the rise of a consciousness of the ideal of an universal community of the loyal.'[1]

The reconciliation of the narrower and the wider loyalty is found in the truth that nationality can attain its highest and fullest expression only in the service of an ideal higher than itself. The desire of a people to express in its thought, art and the forms of its social and political life its own genius and real self is entirely

[1] *The Problem of Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 71–2.

right. In so far as this desire is a protest against the slavish imitation of a foreign culture it is fully justified. But there is a danger that in reacting against foreign influences a people may concentrate attention exclusively on its own past. To dwell solely on the past is to stereotype the defects and limitations as well as the achievements of bygone times. National genius is not expressed by imitation of any kind but by aiming at the absolute ideal. Self-consciousness, both in the nation and in the individual, is a hindrance and not a help to self-expression. A man most truly expresses himself by the gestures of which he is unconscious and his instinctive actions. He is most intensely himself when he has forgotten himself in enthusiasm for a cause. When a nation has produced great original work it has not been by trying to be characteristically national but by seeking to find the absolute truth. The striving after the absolute does not exclude the adoption of things from outside when they seem to be good or true or beautiful. But they will be adopted because they are really judged to be good or true or beautiful and not merely because they have worldly prestige. It is by keeping steadily in view the ideal and in obedience to the universal claims of truth and love that nationality will reach its highest expression. Thus Christianity as the highest revelation of truth given to man and the noblest interpretation of the meaning of human life is not a menace to nationality and the integrity of the national life but the gateway to its fuller and richer expression.

The solution of the problem of nationality is to be sought in the great Christian law that 'he that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.' Like the individual, the nation can find its highest and noblest expression and self-realization in devotion to an ideal and the unselfish service of mankind. In the measure that we submit ourselves to this law, national loyalty and loyalty to the universal kingdom of God become one.

J. H. Oldham

CHINESE LEADERSHIP IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

By W. McCARTHY

Before proceeding to a direct inquiry as to the expediency or inexpediency of Chinese leadership in the Christian Church the writer would wish to set down one or two personal considerations. First, he is an Anglican and his ideas are bound to be influenced by that fact. In no opinion here offered does he venture to criticize the methods, aims and ambitions of any Christian bodies outside that communion. But while this ecclesiastical position necessarily limits the range of observation, it emboldens him to deal with matters about which he would otherwise hesitate to speak. Further, his field of service being China, he would not presume to press his argument in either favourable or unfavourable criticism of policies pursued in other parts of the world.

First of all to Anglican churchmen, what does the term Chinese leadership connote? A body of trained catechists left with partial or even complete independence of action? A body of trained clergy in charge of parish churches, self-supporting and self-governing? No. It means neither more nor less than a Chinese episcopate; and if it does not mean that it means very little that can be considered fundamentally important.

In all the varied reading and study that was necessary for the collection of data on which to build up a plea for this great innovation, one met a certain phrase so often that it seemed as if the whole question had become crystallized in that form. The words ran thus: 'The initial step must be made by our Chinese brethren.' While respecting the reasons usually given in support of this opinion we beg to differ entirely from it, for it is quite possible that had the initiative been taken by foreign missionaries long ago we would by this time have seen the fruition of our hopes. When one looks back on the history of the Anglican Church in China one is profoundly impressed by the admirable reticence shown by the Chinese workers. Though feeling that leadership in the Chinese field, to be really efficient and wise, should be in the hands of Chinese, they have been willing to stand back and reserve for themselves only the subordinate positions. This attitude could not co-exist with a growing consciousness of Christian responsibility; and so as a result we see that here and there in various parts of the country independent churches have been founded whose purpose and aim it has been to satisfy the natural desire of the Chinese Christian to develop his own powers. A foolish anti-foreign attitude has been taken by some few of these religious bodies, but an independent Chinese Church is not by any means necessarily anti-foreign in an ill sense. Some of the wisest and most experienced Chinese Christians, whilst loyally supporting the mission Church in which they have spent all their Christian lives, yet feel that their allegiance would be better directed to the Chinese branch of the Church Catholic, if it were possessed of its own functions, powers and national leaders. But it has come about that while some competent and suitable men are to be found in positions of prominence and influence in the independent religious bodies there are others who unfortunately are both incompetent and unsuitable. Now the independence enjoyed by these is not only synodal (if one may use the term where no synods in the strict sense exist) but also congregational. In Christian foreign countries where the body of essential truth is held practically by all in common without dispute, this form of church government, having the sanction of age and use and the approval of a large body of Christian opinion, may be allowed to possess certain arguments in its favour. But in China, where matters not only ecclesiastical but doctrinal are in their first century of development, the results may very easily become disastrous. It is true that the Anglican communion has not yet been affected by such a movement, but the point is here introduced to show the danger we are incurring.

Now the fault of the foreign worker has not in general been lack of sympathy with the great idea, still less any active antagonism to it; but rather the indeterminate attitude taken up by those who claim to be interested in the question and stand, as it were, looking towards it but making no motion to bring about its attainment. It is our business to make inquiry into the reasons for such an attitude, to find out, if possible, whether they are real or imaginery, sound or unsound.

But from the outset let us keep clearly before us that we are pleading for the establishment of the Chinese episcopate, not at any remote period when the Church may assume a full sense of readiness for the change, but now in the present time. Whenever arguments are being brought forward against this suggested alteration in Chinese church government have we not heard again and again: 'We (that is the mission boards, home churches and foreign workers) are not ready for the Chinese bishop yet'; 'The laity are not ready to submit ecclesiastically to a Chinese bishop yet'; 'The clergy are not ready yet, either to produce a bishop from among their own ranks, or to follow the leadership of one of themselves should one be consecrated bishop'? Yet it seems possible that these and similar statements arise from utterly mistaken ideas as to relative values in certain essential points. Is there not, underlying the thought so expressed, an undue appreciation of western abilities, methods and requirements, as opposed to those that would be admired and approved by Chinese? No charge of conscious pride or arrogance is here levelled at the foreign leaders who in the past founded and in the present are guiding the fortunes of the Church in China. What we refer to is so impalpable as to defy real definition and must be described in terms of its manifestations and effects. It is an attitude rather than any series of acts, a frame of mind expressed in tones rather than in words. But unfortunately it does induce the adoption of a certain policy that leads directly to the negation of the legitimate aims and aspirations of the Chinese. Nor is this the only ill fruit growing from the same root. This attitude leads to the accentuation of national differences, which may, under circumstances favourable to its development, grow into a very dangerous and unpleasant thing.

When we begin to look at matters with unbiased minds, can we be quite sure that in either ability or methods the standards of the West are so much superior, or more suitable *for the work that has to be done*? We believe it to be true generally that man for man the Chinese is the equal of the foreigner in mental capacity, his inferior in some respects, his superior in others. Nor does it appear that the points of inferiority in his character are so much in evidence as to render him less worthy of the highest responsibility than was his Roman or Greek prototype of the first century when the claims of Christianity really took possession of him and overcame the powerful influence of pagan ancestry and training.

Then, too, on the question of methods, the history of the growth and spread of the Church in China hardly warrants an unquestioning support of the plans and policies adopted either in the past or the present. Do the results we see fairly represent the amount of effort expended? Earnest hard work has often been impoverished and weakened by being carried out according to wrong methods; and one way in which this untoward result has been arrived at has been by the exclusion of Chinese from the highest form of Church leadership.

The methods adopted for the administration of church finance, the larger part of which undoubtedly is provided from foreign countries, have been based upon a dual conception of separation and dependence not the less real because unconfessed. The money is 'yours,' in the words of the Chinese worker to the foreign missionary, the authority to use it is 'yours,' and so on with reiterant though perhaps unconscious accusation. Whatever may have been the individual teaching on the subject one can hardly doubt that in the minds of Chinese Christians that is the correct possessive to use. Not 'ours' the money, nor 'ours' the direction of its expenditure. This attitude has received the endorsement and sanction of the home boards who look to their missionaries alone to act as their agents in all financial work, failing to realize that in many cases the administration of their funds would be more expeditiously, economically and efficiently carried out by well-selected Chinese workers. In dealing with this point we do not ask simply for consultation in the distribution of church monies, but for a share in the act of distribution itself, one of the most onerous and responsible branches of modern missionary work. We do not here touch the question of the correctness or otherwise of the whole system of foreign grants in aid, but take conditions as they are and plead for a change of action to meet these conditions.

Further, foreign-imposed limitations are put on the natural desire for Chinese expression in the hard and fast type of worship submitted for the use of the Church. Most missionary churchmen would say that our Prayer Book form of worship is more convenient than any other, and we agree with them so far as this statement applies to all such as are *accustomed to such elaborate and stately ritual.* But we ask whether our Prayer Book is really so suitable for the Chinese convert as we think. What proportion of its allusions can he understand, how much of its beauties can he appreciate? To the Westerner the whole is redolent of historic associations of the highest import and interest; even when the historical facts connected therewith are unknown the flavour of reverence and orderly piety, the heritage of centuries of unbroken use and wont, comes to the worshipper with every recitation of the liturgy. But the Chinese convert has not this Christian background.

Why not reduce the Prayer Book to a much more simple form and let the Chinese Church of the future, under the guidance of its own native episcopate, determine the final scope of the book that is to embody visibly the spiritual thoughts and feelings of this branch of the Catholic Church?

In seeking the reasons for the present policy and lines of action we are brought most reluctantly to two conclusions, either of which is more than adequate to explain why we have no Chinese bishop yet. The first is the presence in the mind of the Church, as represented by both the home and foreign mission staffs, of a conscious or unconscious lack of confidence in tried leaders; the second is an unwarrantable waiting for adequately western-trained men. The first point is a hybrid growth springing from a variety of concomitant causes unavoidable as long as we continue our present methods. The position accorded to the foreign missionary by the home boards, his standing in China as an accredited teacher, his style of living, his control of the funds, his engagement and payment of the workers, the natural deference and courtesy of the Chinese to one who ostensibly brings a favour, all go to appreciate the foreign at the expense of the Chinese worker. The personal equation does not appear here for solution; the disability is inherent in the position of the foreign missionary under present conditions.

The second point is more serious for it betokens an attitude of misapprehension and a policy based on demonstrable fallacies. Whenever the matter of the Chinese episcopate is under discussion, thought is almost invariably directed towards the new and higher schools of modern learning, as if these were the only possible sources from which church leaders can be drawn. The policy pursued is based on hypotheses which, we submit, are entirely fallacious: that solid acquirements in or even a veneer of western learning and science is almost indispensable to one taking the office of a Chinese bishop; that profound learning is an absolutely indispensable qualification; that experience in large and important public concerns is a prerequisite; that not only knowledge of the world but also familiarity with the shifting currents of ecclesiastical life and thought in other parts of the Catholic Church must be possessed by all who aspire to this high position of trust; and finally that the new Chinese dioceses must have all the complicated machinery, administrative and operative, that the age-old dioceses of the West have grown to require. Put thus baldly, these hypotheses seem insufficient and slight, but we believe they form the basis of many mission policies formulated by the foreign staffs both at home and abroad.

Now while all the things listed above may be convenient, we submit that not a single one of them really touches the essential functions and powers that must be possessed by a true bishop. This is not the place to mention what these should be; our duty is simply to show that the reasons usually given for refusing to take this great forward step are not sound.

In speaking of the Chinese episcopate and the difficulty of establishing such an office, it appears to us that our eyes are often deliberately shut to the early history of the Church. Can we read of the early spread of Christianity in the book of Acts, in the Pauline epistles and in the history of the sub-apostolic age without being amazed, not only at the rapidity of the Church's growth but also at the apparent ease with which men were found capable of exercising episcopal functions? It may be said that conditions were much simpler then than now; this is entirely true if comparisons are instituted between the Asia of St Paul's or St Polycarp's time and almost any western diocese of to-day. But we have to remember that, ecclesiastically speaking, even keeping the Roman communion in view, in China we are still in the days of early Christianity. Will not the same methods of preparation and selection be as efficient here as in Roman Asia? A more illuminating view may be obtained if we do not confine our comparisons to China and the cultured if effete provinces of the Roman East, but look at later missions among people not so favourably situated as were the Romans. St Paul's contemporaries had been prepared by Judaism for the reception of Christianity, but what of the barbarous races of the North? It is hardly necessary to mention the anarchic conditions that obtained in the England of the seventh century—pentarchy, hectarchy, heptarchy followed each other in a bewildering series of irregular changes. Might was the prime argument in every dispute. But the last heathen king perished on the battle-field only sixty years after St Augustine's landing in Kent. Though such was the soil in which the faith was sown, it so flourished that within one hundred years of its planting there were no fewer than sixty-one 'native' bishops guiding and administering dioceses. Nor were their positions petty and insignificant. Canterbury, York, London, Winchester, Rochester, Lichfield, Hereford and many others of almost equal importance were amongst the number governed by natives. But here in China, among a people steeped in the tradition of ordered government and settled forms of life, only one man has yet been thought worthy to take up the great trust.

Let us now glance for a few moments at what we have done in modern times to develop for the Chinese Church a corps of Chinese leaders. The figures supplied by the latest published tables give cause for very mixed feelings. Work among the Chinese has been in progress under Anglican auspices for about ninety years, in China itself for eighty; representative non-Roman Christianity has been at work for more than one hundred. We have now twelve bishops, *of whom only one is a Chinese*; two hundred and seventy ordained workers, of whom one hundred and thirty-seven are foreigners while one hundred and thirty-three are Chinese. In the ranks of the catechists the Chinese naturally greatly outnumber the foreigners, as the duties are such as can be far more efficiently carried out by Chinese workers than foreign. Of the ordained, practically all the foreigners are priests, while probably less than half the total number of

Chinese are of that status. But the point is this : there is only one Chinese bishop and he an assistant. After ninety years of work we may surely ask if this is an adequate result or not.

But our plea for action is not based so much upon these known facts as upon certain considerations that arise out of an examination of them. These are two in number :

(i) The nature of the work to be done, having regard to the requirements of a Chinese bishopric in equipment, money and men ; (ii) the character and personality of Chinese leaders now present in the Church who, having due regard to the numbers and qualities of their possible constituents, are capable of fulfilling the requirements of the episcopal office.

(i) We have already noted the disproportionate importance which the huge dioceses in Christian lands are allowed to assume in the formation of our judgment on the question of the Chinese episcopate. The Church of the West during the passing of the centuries has slowly built up institutions and framed organizations the origins of which are to be sought for in the most remote Christian age, but whose ramifications are found obtruding themselves into all classes of society and making themselves felt in every department of civilization. Here in China there is none of that. Whatever form of Christianity was known here in the Middle Ages may justly be said to have vanished without leaving any permanent trace. The Gospel which the western Church brought at the first arrival of the modern missionary was a new thing. The Church is yet in its infancy, in its first century. But while that fact should make every wise man cautious in urging or even suggesting any radical change in the present policy of control, yet it as certainly declares that the requirements of the first Chinese dioceses are first century requirements. How often we are met by the argument that no Chinese bishopric could command either the money or the men to found, build up and control the colleges, schools, hospitals, orphanages and what not that would form the indispensable adjuncts to any work worthy of the Christian Church. But surely this is only a glaring case of *petitio principii.* It remains yet to be proved that the Chinese Church as such has need of such adjuncts. In the Roman Empire there was a period when the government schools of all grades were closed to the Christian and his children, but this did not hinder the rapid establishment of the native episcopate among the many widely differing peoples who received the truth of the Gospel.

Universities with their various technological departments from whence can issue a highly cultured intellectual church membership, schools that can supply large numbers of students able to enjoy and use the advantages of the higher institutions, hospitals manned with the products of the best medical colleges and fully equipped to meet all demands on skill and resource, a highly differentiated parochial system by which the religious needs of the whole body of members may be met—these and many other things would be good to have *but they are not essential.* The Chinese Church could not use them as they ought to be used, and to possess them without use would be foolish. They will in time of course become integral parts of the church organism; in the meantime the desire to attain them should serve as an incentive to effort and self-training.

(ii) But are the numbers in Christian membership so large as to demand the selection and appointment of persons used to great affairs, men who have received a training suitable for the statesman and national leader? Surely not. Any such claim seems to reveal a kind of distortion of actual circumstances in the mind. The time may come when the Christian statesman specially trained for his responsibilities may be a necessity to the Chinese Church, but present indications show that for many years yet the chief duty of the bishop will be pastoral. And for the carrying out of such work we believe that there are even now present in the Church many who are consecrated and devout, possessed of prudence to control and wisdom to act, whose sense of duty is firm, whose faith is beyond the power of the world to shake.

Merely to plead for a cause without looking at the practical difficulties that might hinder its progress would be but a vain beating of the air. There are four main difficulties of such a practical nature that if they cannot be met there is grave cause for fear that a sound working scheme would be impossible of realization : (1) the supposedly limited number of those who could suitably be entrusted with the powers and responsibilities of a bishop ; (2) the financial question, including the support of the Church in all its departments and the administration of all the property at present held in foreign names under treaties between Chinese and foreign powers ; (3) the salaries of Chinese and foreign workers respectively and relatively ; and (4) the relation of the Chinese bishop to the foreign workers in his diocese.

Let us then fairly and openly look at these in the order in which they are set down, reminding ourselves that what we are really arguing for is not merely the preparation of one corner of the field, earmarked, as it were, to be converted into a diocese when any one special man is supposedly ready, but the establishment of the principle that Chinese bishops are necessary for the Church's proper growth, with the corollary that they should be consecrated to their high office without delay.

1. First, then, let us consider the supposedly small number of possible leaders. To those who are familiar with the conditions of mission work in the Anglican dioceses and who have intimate personal acquaintance with the Chinese clergy and laity, the supposition appears to have but little weight. We do not need men who shall control large areas and great groups of churches, who shall be in charge of costly and complicated institutions that require a larger supply of men and money than the Chinese Church can yet supply. The early bishop is the type to be copied ; the overseer of one central church with his little local group of dependent chapels and preaching stations. For

such work and for the operation of such a system we claim that there is an ample supply of capable men now to hand. Names and persons come before one in a long list from one's own limited acquaintanceship.

2. But supposing that the supply of men was not only presently ample and available but that it could also be maintained through even a rapid expansion of the Church, there would still remain the great question of finance. This naturally falls into two divisions.

(*a*) In reference to the first let us remember that the costly and elaborate methods of the West, both as regards property and administration, need have no place in the Chinese diocese. Let the churches be Chinese buildings; let the schools and quarters for the necessary staff be built in the same style, all being brought up to good standards as regards air, light and sanitation, and it is difficult to see why the essential requirements could not be met even by the present constituency. But supposing that for a time these could not be so met; why should there not be a continuation of grants in aid from the foreign boards or from the now existing dioceses? Is the Church not one? True, it would be best of all were the Chinese Church to be quite independent even of the smallest amount of outside financial assistance, as far as such a condition was made compatible with safe and sure development. But for a time at least there might be great difficulty in some places in collecting the needed funds. Support of clergy and lay-workers, building operations, transport expenses, relief of the needy, elementary as well as catechetical schools, orphanages and refuges, the indispensable agencies of a real 'native' episcopate, would all claim immediate attention; and this might ask for foreign help. But this would not be for long, for as in the primitive ages, the gifts of the faithful would certainly be forthcoming for the spread and strengthening of the Church. On the one hand the incentive would be provided by the two important facts that the Church was in the fullest sense Chinese and that their Christian honour was at stake before their pagan countrymen ; while on the other the repressive influence upon their own giving by lavish foreign gifts would be for ever removed.

(*b*) But the most complicated financial problem belongs to the future. During the course of the last half century a large amount of very valuable property has come into the possession of the Church in China. Now nearly all of this has been acquired in the name of foreign mission boards, and is held under sanctions obtained by foreign treaties. To all intents and purposes these properties are not Chinese at all, having no Chinese law affecting their status, nor are taxes paid in respect of the greater part of them. When we remember that the value of these properties runs into millions of dollars, and that the Chinese Church membership generally speaking is financially poor, we can realize that we are confronted by a question of real gravity. It is an easy thing to say, as many missionaries have done, that these are all to be handed over to the Chinese Church as soon as it is ready to receive them. But this method of dealing with the matter ignores many points of fundamental importance. A great deal of mission property lies within the boundaries of foreign settlements, where complications might arise at such a transfer of ownership. Then, too, some properties are memorials given and held in perpetuity for certain specific purposes ; others again are held under trust deeds that impose definite legal obligations that cannot be honourably repudiated. How are all these to be dealt with ? The position of the existing dioceses under foreign bishops is another factor in the situation. Let us say at once that for many years they not only must but ought to continue on the lines along which they have progressed for so many decades. The Chinese Church through them possesses the link that binds it to historic Christianity ; we could never afford to give up this peculiar possession that binds us to the Church of the ages by any premature or ill-judged act. The question of holding properties where legal or geographical difficulties exist might remain as at present.

Some day international law may step in and prove one means of solving it without our interference. But in the country districts, wherever native dioceses were established, and where the qualities and value of the properties would present no special difficulties of disposal, the mission ought to be willing to give them over to the Chinese Church for possession, use and control.

3. There is a further financial point that merits our attention—the salaries of Chinese and foreign workers. For some time at least, perhaps in the new Chinese dioceses and certainly in the present missionary districts, there would be, as now, Chinese and foreign workers side by side. At present the foreign salaries are very much greater than those of the Chinese, and on that account some short-sighted people find cause for great complaint. But a slight examination of the existing conditions will do much to remove this misapprehension. Speaking generally, we may say that striking an average of the salaries of all the Anglican missionaries in China we would find it to be considerably less than the same women and men could earn in their own country either as clergymen or in their lay professional capacities. As to the actual purchasing values of these salaries, they vary so greatly in different localities that no fair average can be taken. When we consider the Chinese workers' salaries we find that though they are much smaller than those of the foreigners, yet from the Chinese point of view, in the case of the clergy at least, they are not inconsiderable ; and compared with the incomes accruing to the foreign workers their purchasing value is much greater. We are not here discussing the adequacy or inadequacy of salaries at all, what we wish to show is that the disparity between the two scales is more apparent than real. Should the anomaly be continued ? Probably in the missionary districts now existing no change on the ground of the supposed inequality would be advisable or even necessary. But it ought not to be continued in the Chinese dioceses for which we are pleading. If the foreigner is content to work

there, he should receive neither more nor less than his Chinese co-worker of equal standing and should arrange his style of living according to the scale set out by the diocesan authority. This would of course be possible to only a limited number of foreigners, as it is not everybody who could make so sudden and radical a change in mode of living. But some could, and their doing so would almost certainly result in great mutual benefit.

4. The question as to whether there should or should not be foreign workers under the direction of the Chinese bishop might well prove the most serious of all problems were the Church to adopt the new policy we have been advocating. But if we are fair to ourselves, honest in our churchmanship and true to our Christian principles there can be but one answer to that question. If to us episcopacy means anything at all it must mean all that is connoted by the term, and that being so we must have courage to stand by our convictions. Should any foreigner feel that duty led him to work in the Chinese diocese, and should the Chinese bishop accept his offer of service, then their relative positions and responsibilities would have to be those that would obtain were the bishop and the candidate of the same nationality. The subject is of course most complicated, but we would lay down as a fundamental principle that all ecclesiastical obedience in a diocese should be made to the bishop of that diocese irrespective of any accident of age, training or nationality. In the case of a foreigner questions of furlough, leave and similar matters would have to be settled between the bishop and his worker individually.

The plea that readers will carefully consider the points put forward in this paper is based on the conviction that the best interests of God's work would be served by the proposed change in policy, and that such a change would produce a development of church responsibility, together with a clear-minded endeavour on the part of Chinese churchmen to build up the kingdom of God in their own wide land.

W. McCarthy

THE MISSIONARY ATTITUDE OF THE PHILOSOPHER G. W. VON LEIBNIZ

By FRANCIS R. MERKEL, Lic. Theol. D.Phil.

It is striking that in almost all Leibniz' utterances the idea of the cultural and civilizing aspect of missions—the direction of all missionary activity towards 'the common weal'—stands in the forefront, in spite of the fact that the missionary idea in the awakening Pietistic movement, though it found only rare and occasional expression, rested on a strictly biblical and religious basis. Not that one should draw from this the conclusion that Leibniz, because he was a philosopher, lacked a profound appreciation of religious motives of this nature—that is no longer open to question. The fact is due much more to the characteristic tendency of the piety of that time which finds one of the chief requirements of all religion in the rational knowledge of the divine being. The knowledge of His being and His perfections must be present before one can love Him.[1]

This purely philosophical knowledge of God becomes for Leibniz the criterion of the true content of all religion, and since Christianity most fully satisfies the demands of reason it is entitled to claim the first place as a natural religion, without waiting for the proof of its credibility through the facts of revelation. This optimistic intellectualism so vigorously advocated by Leibniz, which necessitated an identification of Christianity with the religion of reason, had as its inevitable logical consequence a new appreciation of historically given religions. But if it is true that all the higher forms of religion contain elements of natural religion this involves a changed religious attitude towards what is called heathenism.[1] A man who could write that 'in face of the stupendous moral deterioration in Europe it almost seems necessary to send Chinese missionaries to us to instruct us in the practice of natural theology' has broken with the widespread prejudice that the virtues of the heathen are only shining vices and that their knowledge of God is nothing but delusion and darkness. It is just in this widening of the religious horizon, in this fundamental break with the ecclesiastical distinction between true and false religion, that L. Feuerbach sees 'the greatness and historical importance of Leibniz.'[2] It is true that thereby a new method of dealing with the history of religions was introduced though an appreciation of the characteristic peculiarities of particular religions was still wanting, since Leibniz himself was able to solve the problem of the reconciliation of revelation and reason only in accordance with scholastic categories. Thomas Aquinas had already accorded to the light of natural reason a pre-established significance in the scheme of salvation based on historical revelation. This dogmatic distinction between natural religion and supernatural revelation had already made it possible for the scholastic apologetic to seek a common philosophical basis between the purely human knowledge of God in heathenism and the supra-rational truths of Christianity.

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[1] 'On ne sauroit aimer Dieu, sans en connoistre les perfections' (Théod. Pref.).

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[1] H. Gunkel in his paper *Was bleibt vom Alten Testament*, 1916, p. 18, justly points out how 'the fundamental impatience of the Israelitish religion of any other religion is shown in the words "heathen" and "idols" and unfortunately has been carried on through Judaism into Christianity and has reigned there long enough.' It would be a task worth while to trace the valuation of heathenism in Judaism and Christianity; it would certainly appear from such a study how the Judaic Biblical influence in the Christian Church, up to the time of the Enlightenment, prevents an objective and true appreciation of the non-Christian religions. Next to Herbert of Cherbury (see H. Scholz, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Herbert von Cherbury*, 1914, pp. 21, 69 ff.) Leibniz deserves above all the credit for breaking the way towards a comparative view of religion.

[2] L. Feuerbach, *Darstellung, Entwicklung und Kritik der Leibnizschen Philosophie* (Ludwig Feuerbach's collected works, Volume 5), Leipzig, 1848, p. 29 f.

Thus Alanus of Lille and Raymond Lull had ventured on the experiment of attempting to prove the whole of Christian doctrine to the Mohammedans as conformable to reason. The missionary practice of the Jesuits followed the same tendency when Father Ricci and his followers sought in the Chinese classics for hidden 'seeds and sparks' of a deeper belief in God, in order that with the help of this preliminary religious knowledge they might prepare the way to the higher regions of divine realities. It is just the dogmatic ideas to which Leibniz had recourse and which again and again he advocated on apologetic grounds that show how closely he was in contact at times with scholastic ideas. Indeed in the effort to assure for the truths of reason as sovereign and as universally valid a place as possible he was inclined to allow to the revealed truths of Christianity a place apart in the region of faith, withdrawn from the province of rational thought. In the coincidence of these two spheres of religious development there lay for Leibniz the problem which was of decisive importance both for his philosophy of religion and for his practical missionary proposals. But above all in the fact that he placed missions in the world-wide context of natural religion he guaranteed also to moral activity an independent significance.

The thought was not new of Christian missionary activities actuated by the desire of spreading civilization. The first Jesuit missionaries, in order to gain an entrance among the highly cultured Chinese, had already based their missionary practice on the imparting of practical and scientific knowledge. The result seemed to justify them in spite of all the opposition from their brethren in the faith, and was not without its influence on the first missionary efforts of Protestant circles which were then beginning. But we can no longer ignore the far-reaching influence of Roman Catholic writers on the beginnings of missionary propaganda in the reformed protestantism of Holland as it became a colonial power to which M. Galm has called attention.[1] From my study of *G. W. von Leibniz und die China Mission* (1920), shortly to appear, it is clear how sympathetic was Leibniz' attitude towards these results and what wide ideas of a political and civilizing nature he entertained on the subject. And thus what was specifically new in the conception of missions so energetically advocated by Leibniz lies, if we leave the religious motive out of account, in the repeated demand for a scientific basis for the missionary activity which was about to be begun by German protestantism. Just as his piety with all its conformity to ecclesiastical usage clearly reveals the strain of rational empiricism, so his missionary plans betray his characteristic optimism with its confident belief in civilization, which regarded 'science and true evangelical religion as twin sisters who must ever serve each other' and was convinced that 'scientific enlightenment must bring even the heathen to the true Christian religion.' Leibniz in fact worked steadfastly towards a secularization of science with regard to theology but without thereby leaving out of consideration the religious coefficients which dominated the whole structure of his system,' and thus he sees in the evangelistic and civilizing work of missions shaped by science—in the propagatio fidei per scientias (propagation de la foy par les sciences) an advancement of the glory of God—the highest aim of the world.

In almost all his official publications Leibniz repeatedly stated that the missionary enterprise which he advocated should along with the 'propagation of the true Christian faith' also minister to the 'advancement of the glory of God and of the common weal.'

Similarly there are found in many of his letters analogous remarks, as for example in the letter quoted above from

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[1] In his paper *Das Erwachen des Missionsgedankens im Protestantismus der Niederlande* (Dissertation to the Catholic Faculty of the University of Münster), 1915, Father Galm, O.S B., has in this careful study brought forward proofs of what an intensive influence Catholic missionary thought has exercised upon reformed Dutch missionary writers like Hadrian Saravia, Justus Heurnius, Antonius Walaeus, Gisbert Voetius and Johannes Hoornbeek.

Leibniz to Father Verjus of December 2, 1697: 'Je juge qve cette mission est la plus grande affaire de nos temps, tant pour la gloire de Dieu et la propagation de la religion chrestienne qve pour le bien général des hommes.'

And as he confesses with reference to the past in a letter to the Russian Countess Golowkin, 'Comme depuis ma jeunesse mon grand but a été de travailler à la gloire de Dieu par l'acroissement des sciences,' [1] so we recognize in the following sentence the extensive richness of his world of ideas: 'Mais toute la science physique et la Médecine même a pour dernier but la gloire de Dieu et le bonheur suprème des hommes; car en les conservant elle leur donne le moyen de travailler à la gloire de Dieu' (letter to Bouvet of December 2, 1697). But the universal striving of our thinker after a new scientific view of the world inspired by his invincible faith in the harmony of all positive values of life comes to light most clearly in the characteristic letter to Papebroch in which he resolutely opposes the exclusive and ascetic conception of this Jesuit regarding the task of missions. In this letter Leibniz concludes a somewhat long dissertation on the value of profane knowledge with these words: 'Itaque omnes veritates qvoqvo modo profuturas recte curamus, dummodo ad majorem Dei gloriam dirigamus.' As the final goal of all cultural development of mankind with its varied races he had always before him the vision of the Kingdom of God ('le Royaume du Ciel est toujours la dernière chose.' Letter to Morell of May 4 to 14, 1698), which blends into one universal harmony for the 'common weal' all the conflicting forces of life and thus for the first time truly manifests on earth the glory of God (la gloire de Dieu).

Although this conception of the glory of God (gloria Dei) has its original root in biblical thought [2] and also remained not without importance in the traditional conception of the mediæval Church, it was within the Reformed Church that it first received its peculiar significance in an asceticism practised in ordinary life which the distinctive character of the reformed ethical system presupposed. 'Gloria Dei hominumque salus' (Helv. post. II. N469) are mutually dependent, indeed in the deepest sense identical. The aim of divine grace lies not in the creation of subjectively satisfied individuals, but in the setting up of the Kingdom in which God's glory will be manifested.

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[1] See Jean Baruzi, *Leibniz*, p. 150; Foucher de Careil, *Œuvres de Leibniz.* Paris, 1859–75. VII, p. 502 f.

[2] Cf. for example I Cor. X. 31, Romans IV. 20, Gal. I. 5, Luke XVII. 18, etc., also in the Old Testament the *Kabod* of Jehovah as the divine glory (δόξα), for example, Isa. IV. 5, Ezek. III. 23, Ps. XXIV. 7 ff., etc.

The practical, aggressive, rational and orderly type of life of the Reformed Church corresponded more to Leibniz' restless activity and his inexhaustible creative force than the predominantly contemplative and quietistic character of Lutheranism. While in the latter 'the great work of missions transcending the traditional and established constitution of the Church, and having as its aim the conquest of the world,' owed its first beginning to Pietism, in the case of the Reformed Churches where Calvin began to carry out the missionary idea and Cromwell came forward with his ambitious missionary plans, it is as old as the Reformation itself.

All these considerations make the supposition probable that Leibniz, who not only carried on a regular correspondence for many years with scholarly circles in Holland (as for example with the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, Nicol Witsen) but earlier still in his journey through Holland (1676), had received strong impressions from the strictly reformed modes of thought still prevailing there, and was influenced by characteristically calvinistic doctrinal conception in his consistent appreciation of missions as a means to the advancement of the 'glory of God.'

The vigorous tendency towards an empiric rationalism critical of revelation, which set in towards the middle of the seventeenth century, had introduced an autonomy for the reason which seriously called in question the reality of the objects of faith. At the same time this same reason, exalted in its self-confidence by the new scientific knowledge, offered its aid and promised to raise the truths of faith to demonstrative certainty. And in particular the confidence in scientific methods was steadily increased by the belief that the parallelism of the logical and the physical laws of the phenomenal world had been demonstrated on the ground of a pre-established harmony. The separate departments of science were removed from their isolation and subordinated to a controlling metaphysical whole, although utilitarian considerations, in accordance with the general spirit of the age, were certainly predominant even with Leibniz. With these assumptions we can understand why Leibniz in his missionary thinking purposely put his cultural and civilizing plans in the foreground and speaks so hopefully of a ' propagation de la religion (foy) par les sciences ' (propagatio fidei per scientias).

Among the sciences here in view naturally philosophy, as the truly fundamental discipline, takes the first place. Yet philosophy, according to Leibniz' repeatedly expressed view, is in a quite special degree called to advance the cause of ' the purest and most enlightened religion '[1] established by the divine founder Jesus Christ. He was continually occupied with the problem whether or in what way the philosophical systems of his time were to be turned to practical account for this purpose.

Leibniz allowed himself to expect that his return to the philosophy of the ancients, and in particular to the metaphysical teleological principles of Aristotle, would enable him to bring about a reconciliation between the mechanical presuppositions of natural science and the teleological view of religion. And so the spiritual vitalism which he advocated could become a means of opening to a widespread immanent type of thought, bound up with material conceptions such as undoubtedly prevailed among the Chinese, a way to the understanding of a higher metaphysical valuation of sensible phenomena and of the creative force that is active in the whole organism of the world. An essential service was rendered to religion by the mere fact that a philosophy like the Chinese with its naturalistic pragmatic orientation should be compelled to come to terms with a spiritualistic and metaphysical system like that of Leibniz. He was so convinced of the compatability of his metaphysics with religion that he attributed direct missionary apologetic significance to intense preoccupation with his religious and metaphysical system. He could do this the more that he had in view in the first instance missionary work not among barbaric but among 'civilized' peoples, among whom next to the help of God the natural sciences are the best instrument for the spread of the Gospel.

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[1] Théodicée Pref. : ' Jesus Christ divin fondateur de la religion la plus pure et plus eclairée.'

There ought therefore in his view to be established as close a connexion as possible between the home land and mission lands, which would also be to the advantage of western science. In particular Leibniz hoped for a substantial advance in linguistic science[1] from the fact that the missionary would be compelled for the sake of the propagatio fidei to translate the Christian conceptions into the foreign tongues in speech and writing and to make them intelligible to the thought of these peoples. Besides this he hoped from a scientific study of the ancient eastern civilizations an important enlargement of our knowledge of ancient history and chronology and of the geography and ethnography of these lands. Even for the science of healing which was then held in great suspicion he promised an increase of medicaments just as in general he hoped for an enrichment of knowledge through the achievements of foreign civilizations in every direction. In fact the dream of a research school in China was already in his mind—a dream indeed which even yet awaits realization.

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[1] Already the question of the translation of the Bible was occupying him; for in his letter to La Croze of December 2, 1706, we read: 'Et vous avez raison de juger, qu'encor aujourd'hui les Missionaires reuissiroient mieux s'ils s'appliquoient à la traduction des saintes Ecritures dans les Langves des peuples' (Dutens as above, V. p. 480. Kortholt as above, I. p. 381). And in the letter to Bouvet, December 2, 1697, Leibniz writes: 'Enfin je souhaiterois qv'on n'omit aucune occasion de s'informer à fonds des langves des peuples tant pour les raisons qve j'ay dites, qve pour faciliter la propagation de la foy.' Leibniz considered the translation of the Lord's Prayer into as many living languages as possible to be of special value for linguistic and ethnographical research; thus he writes to Bouvet, February 15, 1701: 'Je vous supplie mon Rev. Pere de me procurer un jour le Pater ou l'oraison dominicale avec qvelqves echantillons de mots fort usités dans des differentes langves des Indes, et sur tout des Tartares, Calmucs, ou Mugals Elud et autres qvi tirent vers la Perse, vers la Moscovie, et vers la mer orientale. Et s'il y a dans la Chine même des langves differentes de celle qvi est dans l'Empire, j'en souhaiterois la meme chose. Il seroit bon d'auvoir des versions interlineaires mot pour mot de chaque Pater, avec les caracteres des peuples.' Similarly in the letter of July 28, 1704, to the same correspondent, and in numerous other letters. This thought which Leibniz repeatedly expressed was carried into effect over a hundred years later by Joh. Chr. Adelung in his *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten.* Berlin, 1806 f.

In contrast with the claims which were made on missionaries by the Pietism of those days, whose standpoint, although broad in dogmatic questions was exclusively religious and biblical, in Leibniz' proposals for the training of missionaries scientific and practical considerations were predominant. 'For this purpose et ad propagandam per scientas fidem,' he says in the second abbreviated edition of the memorial of November 1701, 'it would be necessary for the missionary to set up an institution which would take young men equipped with virtue and understanding, endowed with unusual gifts and filled with the Spirit of God, along with divine scholarship, instruct them thoroughly in mathematicks, particularly arte observandi astra, and medico chirurgicis, since to these sciences the whole Orient is turning, and enable them to achieve distinction in these subjects, while at the same time giving them some practice in the necessary languages.' Both the context of this passage and the structure of his thought justify the educational principles here laid down for the choice of missionaries. That Leibniz by no means underrated the moral and religious qualities is shown, however, by emphatic statements in his *Entwurf des Versuchs einer Besteuerung der milden Stiftungen zum Zwecke von Missionen* (June 1700). Moreover he expresses the wish that from the young men studying for a missionary career those should be selected who as 'righteous instruments adorned with apostolic virtues would understand how by their reasonable behaviour, irreproachable conduct and kindly Christian demeanour to prepare the way for divine truth, and to win souls for their Lord.' The unusually high conception which our philosopher, as distinguished from the majority of his contemporaries, formed of the task and significance of missions makes it intelligible that in a certain sense he transferred his educational ideals to the candidates to be chosen for missionary service, especially as his personal relations with the scientifically highly-trained Jesuit missionaries had completely convinced him of the value and success of intellectual and civilizing missionary methods, particularly among the civilized peoples of the East. Further he quite unreservedly expresses the hope that protestant missionaries who had received an all-round education of this kind in the secular sciences from efficient teachers would 'have the advantage of the Jesuits and other Roman Catholic missionaries' since the latter, being fettered in their scientific studies by ecclesiastical dogma, were not able to preach without prejudice the pure evangelical truth which coincides with the principles of reason.

The tendencies of the great thinker towards science and a cultural synthesis which could count on little support from those who held an exclusively religious standpoint influenced his views of missionary methods in certain not unimportant respects. In particular, the fact that Leibniz in accordance with the philosophy of the enlightenment was inclined to minimize the most distinctive characteristics of religion, and hence of Christianity itself, in comparison with the natural and the rational, led him to anticipate the possibility of a drawing together of all religions as a result of the progressive perfecting of human knowledge. Still more, since he was persuaded that Jesus Christ achieved what many philosophers had previously attempted in vain in making the religion of the wise a religion of the people, he was disposed to think that the Chinese philosophy of life might be of importance as a preparation for the Gospel. And for this reason he welcomed warmly the collection of so-called *logoi spermatikoi* from the classical literature of all peoples, so that like Paul in his speech on the Areopagus he might find points of contact for the missionary preaching of the natural truths which found their purest expression in Christianity. Moreover he regards it as the wiser policy to use educational methods in the imparting of religious truths, and after the manner of 'the discipline of the secret' in the ancient Church to be as reserved as possible in dealing with unprepared souls in regard to the supernatural mysteries of the faith in order to prepare the way for an understanding of revelation by preliminary instruction in natural theology as well as in the most important truths of philosophy. A right view of God and of the soul would naturally form the content of this exoteric instruction. 'In Leibniz' view the fundamental religious idea of the existence of God was a scientifically demonstrable truth of reason,' and the immortality of the soul was guaranteed to him through his monadological spiritual conception of substance. It is true that Leibniz never followed up more thoroughly such questions of missionary theory, although they undoubtedly engaged his attention. With his optimistic confidence in rational demonstration and scientific deductions the deepest religious problems of missions could not but remain a sealed book to him, and in this enfeeblement and reduction to a common level of all strong religious motives lies one of the principal reasons why his bold and far-sighted missionary plans were translated into action only at the initiative of the glowing faith of Pietism.

Unfortunately further events in society which ended tragically for Leibniz brought to nought all the great prophetic plans of this man of genius. 'But what he achieved in the realm of thought remains imperishable, and further, nearly all his great projects have gradually in the course of time been carried into effect.' Even his missionary aims were actually translated into action, although in a quite different way from that which he imagined or wished when A. H. Francke, who was strongly influenced by Leibniz, appointed the first missionaries of the Danish Mission in India, started by King Frederick IV (1705–6). And through the famous founder of the Halle Orphanage Pietism has been, almost up to the present, the sole representative of the missionary idea in evangelical Germany.

That has been fulfilled which the lonely thinker dared to hope : ‘ Qvod si irrita sunt vota mea nunc qvidem, saltem optimae voluntati meae feci satis, et fieri potest, ut qvae nunc spargo semina aliqvando meliori tempestate habituqve animorum adolescant ’ (letter to Phil. Müller of August 15, 1698).

LIC. DR MERKEL

THE MISSIONS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

By EUGENE STOCK, D.C.L.

First of all, What is the Anglican Communion? The phrase is a modern one. *Ecclesia Anglicana*, in Magna Carta, was the Church of England only; but as the Church spread to other countries, both within and outside the British Empire, and became organized, more or less independently, in those countries, a term was required to indicate the aggregate of Churches, or branches of the Church, thus formed; and 'Anglican Communion' has proved to be a convenient designation.

What Churches, then, are comprised in the Anglican Communion? (1) Five Churches entirely independent of each other, viz., the Church of England, the Church of Wales (which has recently been sundered from it), the Church of Ireland, the Episcopal Church in Scotland, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; (2) five Churches in self-governing Dominions comprised in the British Empire, viz., in Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa; (3) the Church in India, which in its special position stands alone; (4) branches or outlying extensions of the Church in the Crown Colonies and Protectorates of Great Britain, or in the outlying possessions of the United States; (5) Churches or branches of the Church outside British or American territories, as in China, Japan, Persia, Madagascar and other lands.

Now one of the primary duties of the whole Church of Christ, and therefore of the Churches—indeed of every individual Church—in the Anglican Communion, is to proclaim the divine message of redemption to mankind.

Our present inquiry, then, is concerning the part which they are taking in the great enterprise of making that message known everywhere. But we have to bear in mind two facts, viz., (1) that there were Anglican missions long before anything like an Anglican Communion was thought of, and (2) that it is some of those very missions which have built up the individual Churches now comprised in that united body.

MISSIONS OF PAST CENTURIES

Let us take the historical point first. Shall we go back to the reign of Queen Anne, when certain Anglican missionary organizations sprang into being? Or still further, to the spacious days of great Elizabeth, when the colonization of distant continents was first planned? But the *Ecclesia Anglicana* was not born at the Reformation. It was alive, and organized, and at work, a thousand years before that. Even if we pass over the ancient British Church, and the work of St Patrick in making heathen Ireland an 'Island of Saints' and a 'University of the West' for the refuge of European scholars fleeing from continental turmoil, we cannot date it later than Augustine's mission and the foundation of the see of Canterbury in A.D. 597. And it was Anglo-Saxon Christendom that sent forth Boniface, the Apostle of Germany in the eighth century, and pioneers, a little later, to Denmark and Norway. Apparently, however, the English Church had little share in the Franciscan missions of the Middle Ages; and when the great period of exploration arrived, which synchronized with the Reformation period, it was natural that the Spanish and Portuguese nations, being the pioneers of modern geographical discovery, should also be the pioneers of modern missions.

But England quickly followed; and even the rough navigators and settlers of Elizabeth's day contemplated, not the extermination of the native races, but their conversion to Christianity. Only a few years ago, the largest stone cross in the world, fifty-seven feet high, was erected by the Bishop of California on a cliff three hundred feet above the sea, to commemorate the solemn church service held by the chaplain of Sir Francis Drake's expedition at its first landing on the Pacific coast in 1579. The first Red Indian convert was baptized in Virginia in 1587; and King James's Charter for the Virginia Colony (1606) provided that 'the word and service of God be preached, planted and used, not only in the said Colony, . . . but also among the savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England.' One of Sir Walter Raleigh's expeditions, in 1603, held church services on the famous spot, afterwards named Plymouth, where the Pilgrim Fathers landed seventeen years later.

The first regular missionary organization in England, however, was not Anglican. In 1648, the House of Commons, under the auspices of Cromwell, established a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, which raised money to assist John Eliot, the Puritan missionary of Massachusetts. But after the Restoration it was reorganized by Robert Boyle as a church society; and it exists to this day as the New England Company, and disburses its funds in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Boyle also bequeathed money to found a Christian Faith Society for the evangelization of Virginia; and this likewise is still at work, but in the West Indies.

The close of that century was an epoch in the history of Anglican missions. In 1698 was founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), to foster Christian literature and education; and in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), to provide clergy in foreign parts, that is, the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, both for the pastoral care of the settlers and for the evangelization of the natives. Soon after this, a call came to aid a Lutheran mission in South India, sent out by the King of Denmark in 1705;

and, apparently because that was outside the sphere of British influence, the S.P.C.K. responded rather than the S.P.G., although such work was not within its own special functions. It adopted part of the mission, and extended it widely; and several of the ablest missionaries, including Schwartz, were its agents. They were in Lutheran orders; but they used the English prayer-book, they assisted the East India Company's chaplains, they reported to the S.P.C.K.; and S.P.C.K. funds were the main source of their support. This arrangement lasted a century, until 1825; but the work, though successful for a time, had its weak points, and was only partially enduring.

S.P.G. AND THE DOMINIONS

Meanwhile, the principal field of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the American Colonies, until they became the independent United States in 1783; and in the eighty years it sent out or maintained nearly 300 clergymen. But it suffered from the drawbacks of an established Church. The permission of the Crown was required for the consecration of a bishop, and the government would not yield to the urgent appeals of the society and extend the episcopate to the colonies. Every colonial candidate for holy orders, therefore, had to cross the Atlantic to obtain them; and of those who faced what was then a dangerous voyage, one-fifth perished at sea. When the United States achieved their independence, the Church there applied to the Scottish Episcopal Church, which did not enjoy the privilege of connexion with the State and was therefore able to respond by consecrating the first American bishop, Samuel Seabury, in 1784. After that, the government gave way. Three more bishops were given to the States, and two to the Canadian Colonies, before the century closed.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, therefore, so important a member of the Anglican Communion, is the direct fruit of the early missions of the Mother Church of England. So also are the Churches in the great self-governing Dominions. In the earlier years of them all, the clergy for the pastoral care of the settlers were supplied mainly by the S.P.G.; and in some of them, particularly in South Africa, the same society has undertaken the larger part of the evangelistic work among the aboriginal inhabitants. It began sending clergy to Newfoundland in 1703; to the West Indies in 1710; to Nova Scotia in 1728; to other Canadian Provinces in 1759; to Australia in 1793; to South Africa in 1820; to Tasmania in 1834; to New Zealand in 1840. By its influence, and its large grants of money, it has taken the lead in establishing and endowing dioceses in them all, and in many other parts of the world. The powerful Churches of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and other lands owe their ecclesiastical life mainly to the S.P.G. The Colonial and Continental Church Society, founded 1838, has, on a smaller scale, also rendered them essential aid.

These great Dominions can now scarcely, with justice to their own Churches, be reckoned as mission fields in the ordinary sense of the words. Their Churches have become partners in the great enterprise of the evangelization of the world, and are conducting their own missions, as we shall presently see. Yet the younger and remoter dioceses still need the help of the Mother Church, and this help is still freely given. Particularly is the claim of Canada upon us admitted and responded to, in view of the immense immigration from our own shores into the prairies and forests of the Far West.

A BRANCH OF MISSIONS OFTEN FORGOTTEN

But there is another branch of missions to our kith and kin overseas. There are the British officials, traders, etc., in India, in the Crown Colonies, in the African Protectorates; and in foreign countries like China and South

America. These are a very important class, though often forgotten by supporters of missions. They are almost everywhere ministered to by clergy supplied from home, largely by the S.P.G.; also in several places by the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and in Brazil, Argentina and other parts by the South American Missionary Society. In India, the East India Company from early days provided chaplains; and when the non-official Britons increased in number, the (Indian) Additional Clergy Society and the Indian Church Aid Association were established for their benefit, and also for ministrations among the Eurasians (now called Anglo-Indians). The great results that may be achieved by this branch of the Church's work are illustrated by Indian experience. The able and devoted chaplains sent out in the early years of the nineteenth century (Henry Martyn was one) exercised so great an influence upon the officers, both military and civil, that many of these officers became the most zealous and liberal supporters of missions to the non-Christian population. Many of the principal mission stations were established at their request, and largely at their expense. The succession continued to the great Christian rulers and commanders of later days, Henry and John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, Herbert Edwardes, Bartle Frere, William Muir and a host of others.

Early Missions to Non-Christians

And this brings us to the Church's missions to non-Christian peoples, which are the largest section of Anglican missionary enterprise. Up to the end of the eighteenth century, however, the only Anglican effort among these heathen peoples were the S.P.C.K. Lutheran mission in South India, before referred to; the small work of the S.P.G. clergy among the Red Indians of the young Canadian colonies; and a one-man mission of the S.P.G. on the West African coast. Some slight impetus to the great task was given by the formation of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in 1799; but the immediate results are commonly much over-stated.

It is important to remember the condition of England at that time. The great war was raging. Taxes were heaped upon taxes; the national debt was rising by leaps and bounds; the Bank of England had stopped payment a year or two earlier; poverty and distress abounded. Religiously, the Methodist Revival had done much good; yet parishes were still largely held by hunting and drinking clergy, many of them pluralists and non-residents; churches were empty; there were hundreds of villages without a Bible and with no school worthy of the name. What chance had the appeal of foreign missions? The S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. were at the lowest level in their long history; and what could the infant and unrecognized C.M.S. do for the great cause at such a time and with such an environment? It sought for missionaries, but fourteen years passed away before a single English clergyman was available, and it had, like the S.P.C.K., to appeal to Germany; whence, within those fourteen years, it obtained eleven men in Lutheran orders. Yet this was the period often described as an epoch of missionary enthusiasm. Three events redeemed it from almost total stagnation: the foundation of the Bible Society in 1804; that of the London Jews Society in 1809; and the success of Wilberforce in the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

But epochs of special interest were coming. The year 1813 was memorable for Wilberforce's second victory securing the free opening of India to missionaries, and the establishment of the bishopric of Calcutta. In 1814 Samuel Marsden started the New Zealand Mission; and in 1816 Sierra Leone began to be a fruitful field. C.M.S. local associations were now being formed in many parts of England: a movement which had important issues, not least in the remarkable revival of the S.P.G., dating from 1818.

THE HUNDRED YEARS, 1820–1920

A whole century has elapsed since then, and the events which even in the briefest adequate summary would require many pages must be compressed into a few lines.

The revived S.P.G. gradually extended its work among non-Christians far and wide. It took over the old S.P.C.K. missions in the Madras Presidency, and soon spread its influence over many parts of the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay; also to Ceylon and Burma. The vast territories of South Africa became one of its most fruitful fields; and the large islands of Borneo and Madagascar; and the West Indies and British Guiana. In the later years of the century it set on foot important work in North China, Japan and Korea. The C.M.S. gradually took an even larger share of the task of evangelizing the non-Christian peoples; its spheres of labour comprising large provinces in India, Ceylon, Central and South China, Japan; also Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, the Sudan; also West and East Africa and Uganda; also the Maoris of New Zealand and the Red Indians of North-West Canada. The South American Missionary Society (1844) represents the English Church in what has been called the Neglected Continent. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa, started in 1858 under the inspiration of Livingstone, has done extensive and important work in East Africa, having its headquarters at Zanzibar. The Cambridge Brotherhood joined the S.P.G. Delhi Mission in 1877; the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and the Cowley Fathers in the Bombay Presidency, began about the same time. The Church of England Zenana Society, an association of women established in 1880, has noble workers in India, Ceylon and China For the larger part of the century the London Jews Society has been busily engaged in Palestine and other parts of the Near East (as well as in Europe); and the Jerusalem and the East Mission, founded by

Bishop Blyth in 1887, works among both Jews and Moslems. The Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Church has aimed at that Church's instruction and revival without proselytism—a task undertaken for other Eastern Churches in earlier days by the C.M.S., not without manifest fruit, particularly in the ancient Syrian Church of South India.

All this while, the Anglican episcopate has been spreading over the world. Its modern extension dates from the establishment of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund in 1841. There were then 10 Anglican dioceses in 'foreign parts.' There are now 132, including 12 founded by the American Church.

PUBLIC EVENTS—GREAT PERSONALITIES

Public events have often affected the progress of Anglican missions, sometimes opening doors for them, sometimes hindering them, sometimes themselves the results, direct or indirect, of missionary enterprise. British operations against the slave trade in both West and East Africa have led to missions on both coasts. The abolition of slavery itself in the West Indies called for the extension of church work there. The tangled history of South Africa, with its Kafir, Zulu and Boer wars, caused both trouble and development. The exploration of Central Africa owes much to the previous journeys and researches of missionaries. Even before Livingstone's great travels, Krapf and Rebmann's discoveries of the mighty East African mountains, Kilimanjaro and Kenia, and their reports of great lakes in the far interior, led to the expeditions of Burton and Speke and other famous travellers. The 'scramble for Africa,' and the British and other European protectorates that ensued, were partly a result of missionary enterprise and partly a cause of its extension. The latest illustrations are the C.M.S. advance into the Central Sudan, now in the Protectorate of Nigeria, and into the Eastern Sudan since Kitchener's victorious campaign. In India the fresh annexations of provinces, e.g., of the Panjab, Oudh and Burma, have opened doors through which the Church has entered fruitful fields; and so have the successive treaties with China and Japan. The Colony of New Zealand was distinctly a result of the C.M.S. Maori Mission. The history of Anglican missions during the whole century is closely linked with the more general history of the British Empire.

Yet missions owe more to personalities than to events. We look at Africa, and we think of Bishops Gray and Callaway, Mackenzie and Steere, Hannington and Tucker. We think of Robert Bruce in Persia, of Bishops Caldwell and Cotton and French in India, with Noble and Ragland and R. Clark and Pennell; of Marks in Burma; of Bishops Russell and Moule and Scott, and Archdeacons Moule and Wolfe, in China; of Bishop E. Bickersteth in Japan; of Bishops Selwyn and Patteson, and the brothers Williams in New Zealand and Melanesia; of Archbishop Machray and Bishops Horden and Bompas and Ridley in North-West Canada. And we perceive that the deaths among them which most distressed us at the time proved to be inspiring calls to the Church; witness those of Mackenzie and Patteson and Hannington and French; of G. M. Gordon, killed at Kandahar; of Robert Stewart, massacred in China; of Captain Allen Gardiner, perishing in Tierra del Fuego.

PROGRESS AT THE HOME BASE

The last forty-five years have seen a remarkable growth of missionary zeal and interest at home; and the careful student of modern Anglican history can scarcely miss the conclusion that the starting point of this growth was the first Day of Intercession for Missions, Dec. 20, 1872. There had been a period of depression and retrogression. Missionaries were actually fewer in number then they had been; and the funds, so far from profiting by that shortage, showed heavy deficits. But God, as ever, proved the hearer and answerer of prayer. Revival came at once. Candidates came forward freely, and the incomes of the societies largely increased. In three respects the missionary ranks showed striking development: university graduates in much augmented numbers dedicated themselves to Christ's service abroad, not only manning the special university missions before mentioned, but, still more, joining the old societies; doctors volunteered for the medical missions which were now rapidly spreading and proving especially useful among Mohammedan peoples, and also in pagan Africa and in China; women came forward as never before, not only for the smaller organizations formed especially for them, but in yet larger numbers for the S.P.G. and C.M.S. The formation of the Student Movement in 1892 gave a great impetus to offers of service.

New home agencies have arisen during the last thirty years. Missionary exhibitions and missionary parochial missions have been numerous and successful. Guilds and unions and bands for clergy, for laymen, for women, for young people have multiplied. Summer schools and study circles have come to the front in the present century. More official, as representing the Church as a body, have been the Boards of Missions, first started by Archbishop Benson in 1887. The Central Board, organized in 1908, has become a powerful body; and the Diocesan Boards are fostering increased interest everywhere. The C.M.S. Centenary in 1899, and the S.P.G. Bicentenary in 1901, were occasions of much thanksgiving for the divine blessing. The Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, which brought together delegates from Anglican dioceses in all parts of the world, produced important debates and valuable literature; and still more was this the case with the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, which led to the starting of this Review, and to the very fruitful visits of Dr J. R. Mott to India and the Far East for the promotion of Christian unity and co-operation.

MISSIONS OF SISTER AND DAUGHTER CHURCHES

So far we have sketched the progress of the missions of the Church of England. Let us now see what the sister and daughter Churches have been doing.

(*a*) The Scottish Episcopal Church has taken as its special fields the Diocese of St John's, Kaffraria, in South Africa, and the Chanda district in Central India.

(*b*) The Church of Ireland contributes largely to the S.P.G. and C.M.S., both in money and in men and women; and Dublin University has two missions affiliated with those two societies respectively, in the Chota Nagpur district in North India, and in the Fukien province of China. Some of the most distinguished missionaries have been Irish men and women; Bishop Lefroy for example.

(*c*) The Canadian Church has its official missionary society, which has extensive work among the Red Indians and Eskimo, and two dioceses and bishops of its own abroad, viz. in Central Japan and in the Honan province of China; also it has taken over the C.M.S. mission in the Kangra Valley, North India, within the diocese of Lahore.

(*d*) The West Indian Church has a mission in West Africa.

(*e*) The South African Church has much work among the native population, organized in the various dioceses; besides which a small group of churches sends both missionaries and funds to the C.M.S.

(*f*) The Australian Church has a Board of Missions, which works among the remnants of the aborigines, helps the Melanesian Mission, carries on an important mission in New Guinea, and has lately begun to send men to China and Japan. The Church Missionary Society of Australia, developed from an old C.M.S. auxiliary dating from 1820, and now recognized as an affiliated society of the Church, supplies many missionaries to the C.M.S. in East Africa, Egypt and the Sudan, Palestine, India, China and Japan, and supports them. The two bodies now raise between them, in nearly equal shares, over £30,000 a year for missions.

(*g*) The New Zealand Church has its own Maori people, and the Melanesian Mission and diocese as an integral part of its organization. It has also a C.M.S. Association supplying missionaries not only to the C.M.S. itself, but to Maori work and to Melanesia.

(*h*) The American Church, which owes itself to the S.P.G., owes its Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society to the C.M.S. In 1817 its bishops proposed sending to the C.M.S. any candidates it might have for foreign service; but the C.M.S. urged on them the importance of independent action, and in 1821 the D. and F.M.S. was formed. It has had much arduous work to do in the domestic department, in the distant and scattered settlements of the West, and among the Red Indians and the Negroes; but it has also sent bishops to the negro colony of Liberia in West Africa, and entered upon important enterprises in Eastern Asia. Its bishops and clergy in China and Japan preceded those of the English Church, and have had a large share in building up the native Church in both those great countries. For a few years, in the 'forties, it had a mission in Greece, and a bishop at Constantinople. It has now bishops in Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Haiti, Brazil and the Philippines.

(*i*) In all the more mature Anglican missions the native Church takes a considerable share in proclaiming the divine message among the surrounding non-Christian population. This has been emphatically the case in West Africa and in Uganda. In India, there are, in addition to similar work, two regular societies, the Indian Missionary Society and the Tinnevelly Missionary Society, both of which support their own missionaries in other parts of India where the language is different. The Church in China has organized a new mission of its own in the province of Shensi.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The fact that the Christian communities gathered out of heathendom are, as just indicated, taking their share in missionary work, shows that some advance has been made in church organization. The great colonial Churches have already been referred to; and they have naturally taken under their wings the Anglican congregations of the aboriginal inhabitants of their territories. The Maoris, for instance, have been absorbed in the Church of New Zealand, the Red Indians of Canada in the Canadian Church, the Zulus and Kafirs in the South African Church. So also the Negroes in the West Indies, and the Negroes, Red Indians, etc., in the United States. Any distinct racial Church for native Christian communities of this kind would be contrary to the whole spirit of the Gospel, which is to combine the races of mankind and not to separate them. But the case is quite different with the great non-Christian peoples of Asia and a large part of Africa. They will be the immense majority in the Anglican Churches organized for their benefit, and they will be, and ought to be, dominant. The absorption in such Churches should eventually be the absorption of white residents in the national Church of the country. In Japan and China the Anglican Christians have organized their Church under (for the present) foreign bishops, but with synods in which natives and foreigners, clergy and laity, sit and vote on equal terms, but the natives form the majority in each case. Practically the same system has been set up in West Africa and Uganda, and in Ceylon. In India there is a preliminary organization of local church councils; but the bishops are making such arrangements as are possible for diocesan and provincial synods. The first

Indian bishop has been consecrated, for the new diocese of Dornakal; and the first Chinese bishop, as assistant in the diocese of Chekiang. There have been or are African bishops in Liberia and in Nigeria; but in Nigeria the present men are assistants to the English bishop. Self-support is advancing everywhere, the Church in West Africa taking the front place with its £30,000 a year for its own clergy, churches and schools.

THE ASPECT AND THE PROSPECT

When this imperfect survey of Anglican missions past and present was written, the dark shadow of the war still shrouded the world in gloom. But the present writer remembers a great missionary meeting thirty years ago, at a time when all East Africa was in confusion owing to the European 'scramble,' and when all the missionaries had been turned out of Uganda. 'The prospect is indeed dark,' said the British Consul-General at Zanzibar in his speech at that meeting. 'No,' said a Mombasa missionary who followed him, 'the *aspect* is dark, but the *prospect* is as bright as the promises of God.'

Yes, even the late war shall turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel. The day will come when we shall look back and exclaim, in Nehemiah's words, 'Our God turned *that* curse into a blessing.'

EUGENE STOCK

THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY ON THE MISSION FIELD

By Mrs SINCLAIR STEVENSON, M.A., Sc.D.

I. HOW TO BEGIN

It is said that the worst linguists write the best grammars, since they know what were the points they themselves boggled over, and have still a keen remembrance of the sloughs and quagmires in which they stuck; and it is this saying alone that gives the present writer confidence to attack a series of articles on research. Her only qualification is that she is herself a beginner writing for beginners, with a lively sense of her own initial difficulties and a rueful recollection of mistakes made and time wasted for lack of a guiding hand. She must also apologize for the fact that she is bound to draw all her illustrations from one country, since twenty years in India have not really taught her much of China, Africa or Japan.

When you land as a griffin in India, you can scarcely help realizing that you have joined one of the greatest universities in the world, and this belief deepens with every day that you spend in the country. Here are all sorts of fascinating subjects for research: music, literature, art and religion, ready to hand, and all as accessible as lecture-rooms and laboratories in Trinity College, Dublin. The only difficulty is to know what subject to select, for though all are inter-connected, yet the 'fresher' must after all begin somewhere.

Your missionary society wisely decides for you that you must learn the language of the people, and thus ensures that your work shall be sound and not shoddy (for the value is dimmed of any research that is not based on a real understanding of the vernaculars); but to that subject you are free to add another ‘ faculty.’

The writer would like to urge that you should choose for your secondary study the religion of the people amongst whom you live. For one thing, this can be more satisfactorily done by missionaries, with their sympathetic knowledge of the people and their happy habit of staying for fairly long periods in one place, than by birds of swifter passage. Even the prospect of furlough helps the missionary, for it suggests to him that he is still at the university and may spend the period before his first furlough studying, say, Hinduism, and after his return devote the next five years to its sister faith, Jainism, and for his third period of service devote himself to the religion of the outcastes, and so on. Or in the same way he may prefer to specialize on Muhammadanism and its lesser known variations.

But indeed you can scarcely avoid the study of religions in India, where you can see innumerable kinds of indigenous and imported faiths all a-blowing and a-growing, and you certainly cannot do your mission work without a knowledge of the mentality of the people. Anyhow, if you decide to devote yourself to the accurate detailed study of an alien faith, you may rest assured that you have found a positive cure for homesickness and entered on a course for which no previous training at home can have been too disciplined and too thorough.

But how are you to begin? What are the first steps you should take? Well, the present writer is not going to suggest that you get all your knowledge from books. For one thing, so long as missions are a sweated industry, it will not be possible for the ordinary missionary to buy books like *The Golden Bough* and the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, useful as they would be. She would advise, however, that, to begin with, you buy, borrow, or beg at least four books: R. R. Marett’s *Anthropology* (Home University Library); *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*

(British Association); V. Gennep's *Les Rites de Passage*; Tylor's *Anthropology.*

If reading these books inflames your imagination with a desire for further knowledge, then by all means gratify it. If you like, you could start right off with the study of Hinduism, perhaps choosing Brahmanism as your 'special subject.' In that case, you might also buy Dubois' *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies,* if only for the sake of its table of contents; for it will suggest constant topics of inquiry, and when you have finished your term's work, you can compare it with that table and see what you have omitted.

In all probability, before coming to India you read Dr Farquhar's *Primer of Hinduism,* Monier Williams' *Brahmanism and Hinduism,* and, most important of all, Haigh's *Leading Ideas of Hinduism,* and, once you are settled down, you will be able to get out of the station library the Gazetteer of your own district, and some volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East,* such as the *Laws of Manu* and the *Grihya Sutras.*

With these at your side, you are ready to plunge straight into the centre of your subject, if only you can find an ideal Indian to act as guide, philosopher and friend. This friend must be chosen with the greatest care, for in work where books help so little, everything will depend on his or her intelligence, sympathy and accuracy. If you are lucky enough to light on the right man, he will make the whole time of study a delight; personally, the writer feels that she owes as much intellectual stimulus to her Indian pandits as she did to her Oxford tutor.

The approved handbooks on anthropology tell you to be chary of paying for information, lest it be manufactured to meet the demand. In India, at any rate, if that difficulty exists (the writer has never come across it), you can avoid it by choosing a schoolmaster for your informant, since he is accustomed to being paid for correct information given. Again, a schoolmaster is trained to impart information in the orderly fashion that makes for edification; and the topics, and above all the philosophical background, that you are going to tackle, are so alien to your own habitual thinking, that you will need every assistance. At first you will not be able to grasp information, if it is showered on you like the upsetting of a waste-paper basket; you will need teaching line upon line and precept upon precept.

Supposing you are an educational missionary, you will probably be kept in your station year in and year out, and then you can work with the same schoolmaster; but even if much of your time has to be spent itinerating, you can always get your principal pandit to give you a regular lecture course during the rains, and when you are in the districts, at every place where you pitch your tent, you can get into touch with the local village schoolmasters, often splendid men who are doing magnificent work without the slightest cheer or encouragement, and get them to amplify, or give you local variations of, the facts that you have already learnt from the pandit who is your schoolmaster in chief.

If, on your return to headquarters, you go over these notes again with this pandit, you will be delighted to see how fat your notebooks are growing, and you will discover that you have a score of questions ready to hand. *Once you know the right questions to ask, you have broken the back of field anthropology,* and henceforth you can just take it in your stride.

After you have tried your wings and have got into the habit of research, it will be well worth your while to consider the possibility of taking some definite subject and weaving it into a thesis for a research degree. You yourself will do better work if you put your neck once more under the academic yoke and study for some definite object, and your schoolmaster will bring a new enthusiasm to the task of instructing you, if he finds it is for an examination (a degree examination, no less!) that you are studying. At present educational India loves examinations as educational England did in the eighties, and there is no reason why you should not harness to your work every bit of enthusiasm that makes for accuracy; an Indian will take meticulous pains to explain a point if he thinks that a misapprehension may plough you.

As to what particular region, religion, caste, subcaste, sect or people you should take for your thesis, I have only one piece of practical advice to give: consult the Literary Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in India, Dr J. N. Farquhar. He has a long list of subjects which are awaiting research, and he seems positively to enjoy taking endless trouble to settle absolute strangers down into delightful fields of exploration.[1]

But to return to our schoolmasters. You may find that you gain better results working with two men, since they remind each other of points that one or other has overlooked; or you may, if your subject be a very intricate one, prefer to work with three men of different schools of thought; for if all of them agree on any given statement, you may be sure that (whatever books may say to the contrary) their statement holds good, at least for your particular district. In the beginning, however, I would recommend your working with one man only, partly to keep your expenses down, and partly because of the brain weariness that comes from trying to follow the mental processes of more than one instructor at the same moment. If, for instance, you have three instructors, and each one elects to give you information in a different tongue, one intoning to you in Sanskrit, another shouting at you in the vernacular and the third soothing you in English, you will feel as bemused by sound as ever you did after breakfasting in the women's dining-room of a student conference.

Still in your early days you may feel inclined to allow yourself, in addition to the schoolmaster who lectures to you in the vernacular, the luxury of an interpreter who will help you to translate technical terms of philosophy or ritual.

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[1] Dr Farquhar, who is sometimes in India, sometimes at Oxford, can be addressed by missionaries, care of the office of this Review.

Supposing, however, that, despite all your care in choosing your tutor, you find that you are not getting the exact information that you want, the fault probably lies in the way you are framing your interrogations. So for a moment stop asking questions and try making dogmatic statements. Instead, for instance, of asking if a man may marry any kind of cousin, say : ‘ A Brahman, of course, may marry his second cousin on his father’s side ’ ; or in lieu of asking why a worshipper rings a bell on entering a temple, make the remark that he does so to keep off demons. Don’t trouble in the least as to whether your *ex cathedra* observation be correct or not ; remember that the strongest instinct in the academic breast all the world over is the desire to correct, and the more incorrect your statement, the quicker will be the reaction that brings you the precise information you wanted.

Some of the greatest authorities on anthropology will tell you that it is more difficult for a woman to do research work than for a man. Don’t believe a word of it. To begin with, the average woman is far more interested in details than the average man. We women love settling down for a thoroughly good gossip and comparing notes about our babies, our homes and our wedding frocks, and we have the decidedly unfair advantage that, whilst we can talk freely to both men and women and also penetrate into the homes of our informants, in India, at least, a mere man is cut off from all entrance into the woman’s sphere. Then, again, Indians, with all their charm, are a shy people, and they feel more sure of sympathy and interest from a woman than from a man.[1]

Another factor that helps is the way Indians appreciate our love and interest in all their hidden treasuries of thought and custom. Once they realize that we want to learn from them, they are more than willing to teach ; and it is perhaps no bad corrective of 'John Bullism' that we should definitely take our places in the seats of the learners, not on the rostrum of the lecturer.

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[1] The only exception the present writer has found to the usual rule that Indians are more willing to teach women than men is in the case of priests of the *Swāmī Nārāyan* sect, who are forbidden to speak to any woman at all. Everywhere else the fact of her sex has been a real advantage to her in her work.

There are one or two points which every beginner should keep in mind. First, that you are not out to collect dry facts for a museum. If the study of anthropology is to be of any use to you as a missionary, you must make it your aim to understand the emotional background out of which spring all the rites, customs and beliefs you are observing. No *hortus siccus* of dry and rattling facts and theories will give you a clue to what is going on behind the quiet eyes of the village audience you will later on be addressing. What you want to do is to learn somehow to think along their lines of thought, to love what they love and fear what they fear, and that you will never do, unless for their sakes you are willing to become a little child and acquire the atmosphere in which those customs and beliefs developed.

In fact, with regard to theories, the fewer you have the better ; if you are lucky enough to possess the *Golden Bough*, read it for its marvellous wealth of facts, but do not bother, at least at first, about the theories at all. It is an awful temptation, as every conscientious observer knows, to twist your facts ever so slightly to suit any theories you may hold. Be humble enough just to garner your facts and let them teach you, and gradually and almost imperceptibly they will open windows for you, through which you may look down into the minds of some of the most lovable people in the world.

Another caution : don't be too eager to find parallels. You can gauge the ignorance of any missionary with regard to Hinduism by the frequency with which he (or she) says : 'The Hindu idea of the *Trimurti* is exactly parallel to our idea of the Trinity.' You will find heaps of things that throw light on your own religion, as, for instance, when you learn that the final test of submission a novice has to pass is to drink without a murmur the cup of things naturally distasteful that is prepared for him ; but don't be in a hurry to claim that things which superficially resemble each other are identical with each other. It was that unscholarly haste which brought the Comparative Religion of an earlier day into disfavour. You are simply out to follow truth and to search for it. You have nothing to do with theories or the hope of popularity.

In the old days you would have gained popularity if you had indulged in polemics and painted everything in the blackest colours ; now the temptation is rather on the other side : if you wish to be accounted liberal, advanced and sympathetic, you will be tempted to gloss over anything that is not pure and good and beautiful. Your business is neither to court popularity, nor to flatter Indian or English pride, but simply to try and see things as they are. Only remember that without real love and the sympathy and insight into character and motives that love brings, you won't get ' far ben ' into the greatest of all the humanities, the study of a human race and a human soul.

In anthropology, as in most other things, ' a loving heart is the cradle of knowledge.'

And now, having cleared the ground, we may perhaps begin to do some actual field work.

II. THE INDIAN YEAR

In all probability, when you landed as a griffin in India, you saw a procession passing through the streets of Bombay and were told that it was in honour of a certain god whose festival fell on that day ; again, when you reached your mission station, you were kept awake most of the night owing to drum-beating in another god's honour, and the next day the schools were all shut, and the servants asked leave of absence for some great festival and the fair connected with it ; and so, from the very first, the Hindu year claimed your notice. Yet it is astonishing how little the average missionary knows about the Hindu calendar, though nothing alters the ordinary course of his work more than the fasts and feasts it enumerates. But as the study of it would show you at once the ideas, stories, legends, faults and virtues that simple people connect with their gods and goddesses (just as the study of the Christian year would give a devout Hindu a very fair introduction to the main facts of Christianity), I am going to suggest that at the beginning of your course you ask your Indian schoolmaster to procure a Hindu almanac for you from the bazaar, and that you settle down to study it with him.

First of all, read it through cursorily with him and map out roughly the fairs and festivals you most want to see, and be sure to begin to prepare for them before you go.

In field anthropology *you must do your* ' *prep* ' before you go to see any ceremony, otherwise you get hopelessly lost in details, elaborations and trimmings. Again, you must know roughly when the big holidays are expected, otherwise you will find that you have gone away on some quite unimportant visit and so missed a ceremony that you were longing to witness.

The present writer found a most unexpected benefit accrue to her actual missionary work from roughly blocking in her year's study, for it drew her attention to a delightful little fair attended by the very nicest type of women, that hitherto not even the senior Indian workers knew anything about.

Unfortunately, you must arrange most of the study of the Hindu, Muhammadan or Jaina calendar for yourself, for dates differ so from year to year and from district to district, that the writer can only give you some rough general rules.

Notice if in your part of India the Hindu year enshrines the idea that each of the three gods of the *Trimurti*, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, go to Pātāla for a term of four months. If so, find out what can, and cannot, be done during each particular god's absence, and how his return is celebrated.

You will find it interesting to connect with this the belief that the whole world is under the successive government of each of these three gods for specified periods of years. Discover which of these terms are auspicious, and which inauspicious.

Then there are four general questions you might ask about every festival or fast—

1. In whose honour is it held (a god, a goddess, a demon or a king)?
2. How is it observed, and at what time of day?
3. Who keep it: men, women or children?
4. What benefits accrue to those who keep it?

Now suppose, keeping those four questions in mind, we just run through the chief events of one month in the Hindu year, as they were celebrated in the writer's part of India (Kāṭhiāwār), it might give you some idea of the questions you might ask in your own district with regard to that and other months. For collecting any facts there are innumerable ways, 'and every single one of them is right,' but the following happens to be the scaffolding the writer used when working at the Hindu year for her *Rites of the Twice Born*,[1] so to that extent it has been tested and found workable.

First Month of the Hindu Year.

Is it called Kārttika, and does it begin in October–November?
When is New Year's Day?
How many New Year's Days are there in your district?
What happens on them?
Do any of them celebrate Viṣṇu's return from Pātāla?
How is this commemorated? By any offering of food (*Anna kūta*)?
What food is offered—cooked, or new fruits of the season?
Have people any dislike to use new crops till first-fruits have been so offered?
Is the *Anna kūta* ever placed in a temple of Śiva in your district?

New Year Customs.

Note any special New Year customs about salt, sweeping, greeting, forgiveness.

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[1] Shortly to be published by the Oxford University Press.

Salutation to Ruling Chiefs.

In your part of India does a Ruling Chief hold a durbar on his New Year's Day?
If so, what offerings are made to him?
Who makes the offering, and what is done with it afterwards?

Festival of Brothers and Sisters.

Is there in your district a Feast of Brothers and Sisters?
Have you ever come across any other custom, for instance, at weddings, which emphasizes the tie between brothers and sisters?
(How could the beauty of this relationship best be emphasized in the great national Church of India that is yet to be born?)

Deva Divāli follows.

Get the actual legend and note what light it throws on the Hindu idea of God.
Go and see the procession in the evening.
Which god goes to Pātāla after this festival?

Days of the Dead.

Then come the all-important days sacred to ancestors.
What other days in the year are so sacred?
(As you study these, try to understand the Hindu ideas, not only of death, but of the state after death.
Can you honestly say that Christian funerals in India bear witness to the joy of the redeemed?
How would you alter them?)

Now we must not stay to run through every month in detail, but as the year goes on, notice the light thrown on almsgiving, both secret and open, at *Sankrānti*; on the idea of truth and on the value of mechanical ritual at *Śiva rātri*.

You will find it exceedingly interesting to contrast *Holi* with other fire festivals (cp. *Golden Bough*, Part VII. p. 106). Note the anxiety shown at this festival as to the monsoon and the safe-guarding of animals. Are people in your part of India growing ashamed of *Holi*?

Throughout the year be on the look-out for the special festivals observed by men only; by married women only; and by unmarried girls. Group them all together, and you will find that you are beginning to understand something of the separation and relations of the sexes.

Then remember that India is an agricultural country:

see how pathetically the omens, fasts and festivals witness to the overwhelming importance of the monsoon in a famine-haunted land, the ticklish nature of young crops, the value of the herds. By studying the festivals, you will find out, for instance, when snakes are dangerous, and what other perils have to be averted.

Again, India has always been liable to the scourge of epidemics : cholera, smallpox and the like ; and the dread of these and the thankfulness for escape are symbolized in her festivals.

It is always an astonishment to the newcomer, who has heard much of the asceticism and philosophy of the East, to discover how deeply India loves money. The missionary finds to his surprise that his converts will often do anything to make their sons rich men and will place their daughters in positions of real moral peril for the sake of higher wages. Poor souls, they have only brought over their love of money with them from Hinduism, as you may learn if you listen to the talk of the ordinary folk in the street, for it is nearly always about *paisā.* The Indian year reflects this attachment : look at the position that Jains as well as Hindus give to the festival of *Divāli.*

But don't start out on your study of the year with any preconceived ideas ; just *map out your calendar,* and then go and see as many festivals and fasts as possible, being careful to ' do your prep ' beforehand. Take a notebook with you and jot down what you see at the actual ceremony, and correct it the next day with your pandits. If it is in any way possible, go and see the same fast or festival the following year, when you will know what to look out for, for nowhere is it truer than in research work that ' to him that hath shall be given ' ; you will only see in proportion as you have educated yourself to see.

But once you have garnered your facts, think over them, and as you chew the cud, the emotional background behind the facts will become living to you. You will begin then to realize what things your Indian friend dreads most : childlessness, widowhood, death, ghosts, etc.; what he or she loves most (children, for instance); the things he enjoys most, and the things he dislikes. Above all, you will begin to understand his idea of God, of gods, of mankind and of nature. Be on the look-out specially for any festivals in honour of Truth, Temperance, Chastity or Honour, the great Hellenic ideas.

And, as you work, remember that you are a missionary, and pause continually to ask yourself: 'Ought this festival to find a place in our Indian Christian Church? What does this fast teach us to guard against or to emphasize? How does Christ, the Desire of all nations, fulfil the particular need emphasized in this custom?' Unconsciously you will weave what you are learning into your bazaar addresses, and there will be far less drawing of a bow at a venture.

Perhaps the questions you will ask yourself most insistently, as your study of the calendar progresses, are: 'Are we emphasizing enough the sheer fun it is to be a Christian? Have we robbed these people of opportunities for light-heartedness and happy cheer? Are we teaching them that rejoicing, praise, thanksgiving are the fundamental notes of the Christian faith?'

It is a comely fashion to be glad.
Joy is the grace we say to God.

MARGARET STEVENSON

(*To be concluded*)

A PROBLEM IN MISSIONARY PREPARATION

By FLORENCE MACKENZIE

The interesting article by Mrs R. H. C. Graham in the January (1920) number of the *International Review of Missions* describes simply and explicitly an aspect of missionary work which deserves more attention than possibly has yet been given to it. Mrs Graham deals with problems of sex morality as she has encountered them in her work on the Congo. These problems, however, are not confined to any one field. They exist in one form or another all the world over, and the task of solving them is taxing many minds at the present time.

It is only comparatively recently, however, largely owing to the conditions which a state of war has revealed, that public opinion—in Great Britain at any rate—has permitted the discussion of these questions to be in any sense general or widespread. Reticence has perhaps been natural but it has also been unfortunate, and in the case of missionary work particularly so. I may be excused for looking at these matters from the point of view of the young missionary going out to the field for the first time as it is in relation to the preparation of women missionaries that my attention has been focused upon them. I may say in passing that what follows applies in my experience in lesser degree to the candidates of continental as contrasted with British missionary societies. This is due, I believe, to the widely conceived duty of the school in relation to public morality which holds, for example, in the Scandinavian countries.

Candidates for missionary service are drawn as a rule from those homes in the land where the standard of Christian living is high and home-life and parenthood in their beauty and purity most evidently shown. This very fact contributes to a certain simplicity and ignorance regarding any hint of a way of living which is otherwise. Unless in their time of preparation in school, hospital, college or missionary training course those who offer for missionary service can become informed regarding the moral and social conditions of the countries to which they go, the shock of the first realization of things as they are may be very great. Senior missionaries on the field often do a great deal to help young workers in their early days with regard to matters of this kind, but it is doubtful whether it is wise that the whole burden of responsibility should rest upon their shoulders. The younger colleague may feel a little self-conscious about expressing ignorance, the older worker may not feel fitted to give the necessary information in the best way. In any case the whole situation is too important and too complex to be left to haphazard treatment. It requires full consideration and organized effort if it is to be met.

In opening up this subject from the point of view of missionary preparation I should like, in the first place, to define in some detail the scope of the information and instruction that it seems desirable that candidates should receive. The question is not simply one of making candidates aware of the existence in non-Christian countries, and unfortunately in Christian countries also, of evil customs and low social conditions. Its scope covers the normal as well as the abnormal. Candidates require explicit instruction regarding marriage and parenthood from the physical, moral and spiritual points of view. Closely allied to this is the study of infant welfare, including the care of the mother in relation to the birth of her children, and all matters concerning the upbringing and training of children in the home. The missionary's position is one of special responsibility and opportunity just in these things. Lack of knowledge may mean not only failure to realize the seriousness of certain facts in the life of the non-Christian community, through ignorance of the physical and moral results involved. It limits also the essential helpfulness of missionary work to peoples seeking to build up their social life upon Christian principles and yet ignorant of almost everything which modern research and Christian experience have together discovered of the means by which the sanctities of home and society may be preserved and developed to their highest power. Some illustrations may perhaps make clearer the definite forms which this problem takes in the mission field.

The woman missionary, for example, in regard to the girls in her orphanage or school has almost invariably to take the parents' part when the time for marriage comes. Advice and guidance of a most detailed kind must be given. In every African field, and in other parts of the world also, the question of polygamy is a serious one in relation to church membership. The solution is not easy. Ignorance of the normal facts of life means the crippling of the missionary's influence and power to guide; it may also mean the setting up of standards which are not suited to the stage of development of the community and involve consequent disappointment and failure to make progress along natural and suitable lines. In educational work special difficulties have to be faced. The years of adolescence in a tropical climate and in communities where early maturity is encouraged and expected are peculiarly testing. The missionary has need for a judgment and balance of outlook in dealing with young people at this stage which can only be based upon definite knowledge. The whole moral tone of a school may be adversely affected by the psychological condition of one or two pupils. Recognition of this fact, and a constant application of wise preventive measures as regards games, exercise, diet and the guidance of friendship, give most hopeful results. An extended period of missionary service almost inevitably brings experience in its train which is of course invaluable. The conditions of missionary work are, however, such that a young worker may often have to bear the weight of a burden of peculiar responsibility, for example in boarding school work, with very little experience upon which to draw. Another important aspect of the subject concerns the health of the missionary and that of the other workers for whom the mission is responsible. In social work at home it is being recognized that it is desirable to give instruction regarding safeguards against accidental venereal infection. This precaution is necessary also for work abroad. Without scientific guidance there may be on the part of workers either carelessness based upon ignorance of danger or over-cautiousness and timidity due to fear. Both attitudes are undesirable and affect the ultimate usefulness of the missionary.

Having outlined roughly the range of subjects in which instruction is desirable for the outgoing missionary, I should like to indicate some ways in which the necessary teaching may be secured. A conference dealing with these subjects which was convened in March 1920 at Selly Oak, Birmingham, by the officers of the Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries, revealed the wide range of opportunity for instruction which exists. Certain missionary training colleges have instituted definite courses of study in these subjects. In these there are associated with the theoretical work as regards infant welfare, problems of adolescence and debased social life, schemes of practical training which keep the element of humanity in view throughout and obviate as far as possible the dangers of rigidity and separation from life. The Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries in its lecture and vacation courses is also able to meet this need. Further, for those who wish to make a specialized study on a larger scale there are now available fully organized centres of preparation where students are received for longer or shorter periods.

Unless, however, the importance of the subject is realized only a proportion of missionary candidates will have the opportunity of benefiting from the classes and courses available. Unfortunate as the fact is, candidates still leave for their fields, in some cases, without specialized missionary training of any kind. Sometimes also the course of missionary preparation is curtailed and this element omitted. The conference at Selly Oak showed that missionaries on furlough would be glad in many instances to avail themselves of further preparation on moral questions, if convenient opportunity were provided. It was considered, too, that the needs of the situation make a demand for the special preparation of men as well as women. A sentence here may be quoted from the findings of the conference: 'The moral conditions which hinder the Church in the mission field can only be met by a body of men and women, equally informed as to the need, working together for the uplift of the Christian Church.'

In conclusion one further point must be emphasized. The whole problem as it affects the mission field cannot be solved at one end. A great deal can be gained from the experience of workers in the home field. Scientific knowledge is available and also a certain range of practical information drawn from life, which applies universally at home and abroad. There are, however, certain elements in the circumstances of each field which can only be dealt with from the experience of the fields themselves. By means of co-operation on this matter between the home boards and the mission councils on the field a wide range of most valuable information could be gathered and made accessible for those whom it would help. There are no doubt also in certain fields difficult situations for which outgoing missionaries might be prepared in a special way. The whole subject needs discussion and full inquiry. It is in the hope that such may ensue that this paper has been written.

FLORENCE MACKENZIE

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

West and East: The Expansion of Christendom and the Naturalization of Christianity in the Orient in the Nineteenth Century. By Edward Caldwell Moore, D.D. London: Duckworth. 12s. 6d. net. 1920.

The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World. By Edward Caldwell Moore, D.D. Chicago: University Press. $2.00 net. 1919.

Of these two books the first, earlier in composition though later in publication, is by far the larger and more important and shall be considered first. It is conceived on the vastest scale, and is intended to embrace the whole of the relation of East and West, historically, philosophically, religiously. It is backed by wide knowledge, much of it gathered by first-hand inquiry and observation in very various parts of the world. It is written in a style which, in its capacity for epigram, is really Tertullian; but in its continual balance of tendency against tendency, without decision between them, represents a mind the very opposite of Tertullian—the modern mind which would 'see the good in everything' and believes in synthesis rather than exclusive victory. To me the most interesting feature of the book is its almost naive optimism. Not indeed that the evils and perils of the present tendency of the world are not noted with sufficient severity. They are. But there is in the writer's mind apparently no room for question that the present world order is moving toward 'the Christianization of the world.' There have in many ages existed two types of Christian thought. The one which confidently anticipates the coming of the kingdom of God by gradual evolution of good and its gradual enlargement and victory. The other, which we may call the apocalyptic, which sees the world as the scene of a constant strife between Christ and antichrist, which is prepared for and even anticipates the seeming victory of antichrist as far as this world is concerned, and then contemplates the renewal on the vastest scale of the surprise of the Resurrection, that is 'the coming' of Christ in glory upon a world which had rejected Him. These two views perhaps admit of some harmonization. But many of us feel that the tendency of ' moderns ' is to ignore the large element of truth in the latter view. In Dr Moore's case it would appear that the spirit of optimism has given it no chance. It is not even in evidence. He has no doubt that the process of ' assimilation ' of the West by the East and, in a measure, of the East by the West, which has succeeded to, and is tending to oust, the old motives of European conquest and commercial greed, is to bring about the moulding of the world ' to one type of mind and life.' The phrase is emphasized by repetition. And the type of mind and life which is to prevail is the Christian, but the Christian not in the sense which would have pleased the old ' crusading ' missionaries whether Catholic or Protestant, any more than the old empire-builders, exploiters or world-exploiting traders: it is to be a Christianity which has been transformed by the assimilation of the true and nobler elements of the non-Christian world.

It is obvious that this very radiant estimate of the world movement received a staggering blow in the Great War, which broke out before Dr Moore sent his book to press and was over before it was published. For example, in his estimate of the effects of the education supplied by Robert College and other American institutions in the Turkish Empire, it is obvious that Dr Moore has found it almost more than difficult to adjust his estimate to the disclosures concerning the spirit of the Young Turk which the war has brought. And the preface to the book indicates how greatly he felt the blow not merely at this point. Nevertheless, though he admits that it requires an act of faith to see it in this way, he is convinced that ' the war is only an episode.' The world movement will none the less reassert itself for good, for the ' assimilation ' of East and West and for the Christianization of the world.

It may be so. But for myself I find it very difficult to feel sure that the collapse of civilization over the whole of Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria and Turkey, the plunging of vast areas into semi-starvation, the breaking up of all authority over half a world, and its weakening over the greater part of the rest of the world, may not prove to be something much more than an episode—may not be the letting loose of forces which will change the tendencies of the world in very fundamental ways. Nor can I feel sure that the world is not, over a large area of its life, going to reject Christ. No doubt Dr Moore would give Christianity so very ' liberal ' an interpretation that it becomes hard to reject it without rejecting all that modern thought has held most dear. But the Christianity of St Paul, nay the teaching of our Lord Himself, is rooted in the Old Testament doctrine of God, the Creator, the moral ruler of the world, the supreme and righteous judge. This is a doctrine which involves a tremendously stern view of sin ; and lays a tremendous restraint upon the lust and selfishness of men ; and threatens disobedience, individual or social, with tremendous and inevitable judgments. Now I cannot feel sure that the whole of this foundation doctrine is not in process of being rejected over a great area of the modern world, both in West and East, in favour of something like the older belief in the immanent God (which Christianity could assimilate only if it sternly corrected it), which practically identifies God with the world-spirit or with ourselves as we are or as we think we are becoming.

This is the kind of theism or pantheism which has nothing of the fear of God in it. It is prepared to call itself Christian only if it may identify Christianity with the doctrines of the Fatherhood of God (interpreted in its own way) and the brotherhood of men : so that at the last resort it does not seem to make much difference whether you take Christianity on the old estimate and reject it or take it on the 'reduced' test and pay it verbal homage. Certainly in this war the judgments of the Lord have been in the world, but it does not seem as if the world had thereby 'learned righteousness' or were in the least impressed with the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom. It seems to me to-day there are so many antichrists that it is not easy to ignore the apocalyptic element in the New Testament.

Of course a Christian is bound to be a radiant optimist as to the last issue of things. But he is not at all bound to be an optimist as to the process by which this issue is to be reached. Has he not listened to that strange question, 'When the Son of Man cometh shall He find the faith in the earth ?'

There is another question which rises constantly in my mind as I read this most interesting book, and that is as to the character of the Christianity which is the goal of the 'assimilation' movement. Dr Moore gives a sympathetic account of the effect of the old missionary Gospel whether in its Catholic or its Protestant form, the Gospel which had no doubt about its authoritative message and no doubt about the motive for evangelizing the benighted heathen.

He does not at all fail to point out the fallacy of those who depreciate doctrine and would make the Gospel a message of social reform. He does not fail to note that in past history, whenever Christianity has produced profound social effect, it has been by means of Christian churches or communities for whom social work was a secondary thing and the relation of man to God the first thing. This is in Christian history a significant fact. As an economist has said of the Benedictines, 'They went out to save their souls and saved the world by accident.' Dr Moore shows that he feels all this. Nevertheless we are not left in any doubt that the Christianity which is the goal of the world is to be a markedly 'reduced' Christianity, to use Dr Sanday's phrase. Dr Moore's earlier book, *The New Testament in the Christian Church*, would have prepared us for this; and since he wrote that book Dr Moore does not appear to have been at all moved, on his critical side, by the apocalyptic reaction which is, no doubt, in its extreme form absurd, but contains a most notable amount of truth. We gather that Dr Moore is still content with the 'liberal' view. We await eagerly what, as we read, we see to be coming—the definition (so urgently required to elucidate his argument) of essential Christianity. There are pages in different parts of the book, but especially pp. 353 ff., which seek to supply the needed definition, but they are extraordinarily vague and elusive. They describe a Christianity which would easily assimilate or be assimilated. It would certainly not be a fighting religion. But Christianity from the days of its origin, which lie behind St Paul, has been a fighting religion, claiming conversion to a very positive and distinctive message of God. And we cannot but recall that the evangelistic work of the reduced Christianity is still in the future. It has founded no churches so far. Of course Dr Moore believes that, under the guidance of St Paul, the original Christianity of the first believers largely changed its character in 'assimilating' Hellenism, and again in 'assimilating' the Roman spirit of government. He would plead that it is only the same kind of assimilation which is now required of it. Here no doubt I should have to differ from Dr Moore as to what can really claim to be original Christianity; but this is not the place to pursue this discussion. I should, however, like to ask Dr Moore a question. He discusses in his book Jesuit experiments in assimilation in the East and especially in China. He says truly enough that the Catholic acceptance of the cultus of ancestors had this fault. It was not the outcome of the intense feeling of the converts. It was something done for them beforehand by the western teachers. But is it not probable that Easterns who had been taught, as Dr Moore would have them taught, to appreciate highly the good in their old religions, as well as the greater good of Christianity to which they had been converted, and who then as converts had been invited to form their decision, as Dr Moore would have them invited, as to how much could be retained—say of ancestor worship or of Hindu caste, would decide in such a sense as would seriously imperil the distinctiveness of the Christian religion altogether? Under what we may call the old orthodox method, they felt that their conversion was a transition from light to darkness, and they would be the less likely to hanker after old customs. Even so, however, we know how easy relapse or half conversion has been. But when they have been taught as Dr Moore would have them taught I should suppose that what would be likely to occur would be assimilation indeed!

I have felt bound to indicate some deep differences of judgment and some serious doubts which have risen in my mind in reading Dr Moore's book. But I wish also to encourage all who are interested in the relations of East and West or in the evangelization of the world to read it. It is a great book largely planned and worthily executed, and of unfailing interest.

In the smaller book, which is historical, I cannot but think that Dr Moore has attempted an almost impossible task—that is to compress into a single small volume the history of a vast and complex movement. He has produced no doubt a very valuable summary, but there is no denying that the complexity of movements, events, places, names presented to the reader is bewildering and exhausting and that there is not space to clothe the names with living interest. We cannot help wishing the smaller book had been at least as big as the larger.

Now I am going to venture to indicate some omissions (as it appears to me) in both books taken together and make a few detailed criticisms.

Surely among oriental movements there should have been some mention of the Babist and Bahaist religions. It has seemed to me to be one of the most deeply interesting religious movements in the eastern world, and I have wished greatly to know how it has fared since the beginning of the war. But it is not, I think, even mentioned. Again, surely among the missionary experiments some account should have been given of the great Jesuit experiment in the way of patriarchal control of a whole country in Paraguay—so deeply interesting in its success and its failure. Surely again more notice should have been taken of the Nestorian missions which appear to have been extraordinarily wide and successful over a period of many centuries and also to have made ultimately very little permanent impression. In a much smaller way, when Dr Moore is noting the attempt to help the struggling Eastern Churches back to a fuller life, I am sure he should have noticed the remarkable success of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission. During the recent troubles, the profound effect of this mission in keeping the Assyrian Church alive and renewing its spirit has been made evident. But of course we all have our own bits of knowledge, and I prefer to stop attempting to indicate omissions and to profess my gratitude for so much information.

But I want to make a few detailed criticisms before I conclude.

Have we the least reason to believe that St Paul studied in Hellenic schools (*West and East*, p. 80)? And is it not the opposite of the truth that the Christian Church 'in its earliest period had . . . almost no missionaries by profession' or that 'the missionaries of that first grand evangelization had been laymen, merchants, soldiers and travellers' (p. 84)? This seems to me to be exceedingly remote from the fact. Is it not an exaggeration to say that 'no one now feels towards the religions of non-Christian peoples that aversion and reprobation which the inaugurators of the missionary movement undeniably felt'? I think that most zealous missionaries who know intimately the actual meaning of non-Christian religions in India and Africa still feel a very keen sense of 'aversion and reprobation.' I do not think it is at all just to say of Africa that 'there is no land of which we have to speak in which missionary work, of whatever sort, medical, economic, social, educational, philanthropic, spiritual, is limited to such a monotonous level' (*The Spread of Christianity*, p. 253). Is it not saying a great deal less than the truth to say that 'the adherents [of Buddhism] are far more numerous, the faith itself is far more vital, in Japan or even in China, than in India'? (p. 136). I believe it is the case that in India proper—its original home—there has been for many centuries practically no Buddhism.

It may be the case, as stated in *West and East*, p. 341, that in China the Roman Catholic Church has been able from the first to admit the Chinese youth more readily and speedily to the priesthood than any Protestant community, but I do not think it is true in India and Africa—owing to the requirement of celibacy; and it cannot consequently be treated as a general truth as on pp. 342–3. On p. 26, last line, for 'on' read 'no' and on p. 253 for 'by and large' read some other words, though it is not apparent what they should be.

And now I hope Dr Moore will forgive me my criticism and accept my cordial thanks for a conspicuous addition to our missionary library.

Charles Gore

London

RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY

The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy. By S. Radhakrishnan, M.A. London: Macmillan. 12s. net. 1920.

Professor Radhakrishnan has written a very interesting and well-informed book. His style is clear and idiomatic and his criticisms are generally acute and relevant. Moreover, in dealing with contemporary thinkers he gives copious citations from their works, and takes pains to state their positions fairly. The title of the volume hardly suggests its scope and purpose. Radhakrishnan is not concerned to show that the influence of religion has helped current thought: in fact his opinion is that religious beliefs and prejudices have been a fruitful source of error, exaggeration and onesidedness. In his criticisms of Monadism, Pluralism, Pragmatism and Personal Idealism this is the burden of his complaint. At the same time the instructed reader will find his discussions of thinkers like James, Bergson, Eucken and others both competent and illuminating, even though he believes the critic often fails to realize the difficulties in the theory he wishes to establish. For example, our author argues that Professor Ward's use of the idea of the creation of the world merely introduces a mystery. But his own statement that 'matter is spirit gone out of itself' is not one whit more intelligible and is only explanation by a phrase.

In the space at my disposal I can only set down briefly Professor Radhakrishnan's philosophic theory and the general conclusions which he reaches. His standpoint is frankly that of Absolute Idealism and he has learned much from English writers of this school. Philosophers who are not Absolutists and Hegelians he thinks ought to be so, if they were consistent. Accordingly in this book an excessive stress is laid on the claims of rationality, and a protest is made against the influence of conventional beliefs and traditions; while we are warned against an appeal to values that cannot justify themselves at the bar of reason. For philosophy truth and logic are all in all, and it is urged that a religious doctrine which philosophy, after serious consideration, fails to substantiate ought to be rejected. To this one would reply that philosophers are much at variance as to what religious beliefs can be substantiated, that perfect rationality is an unrealizable ideal, and therefore ethical and spiritual values which cannot be fully rationalized have a good claim to count in our world-view. Radhakrishnan does not of course deny that moral and religious values should be taken into consideration by philosophy, but he makes the exaggerated demand that the philosopher should only accept them if he can justify them by hard reasoning. No such test can be effectively applied in a world of half lights.

For the most part the author defines his own idealism by making it the ground of his criticisms of other philosophical movements. His line of thought is not unfamiliar. The differences of experiences must rest on a fundamental unity. The Absolute expresses itself in finite individuals; but these are not ultimately real and are elements of the Whole, the perfect Individual, the Absolute or God. Radhakrishnan has added a concluding chapter, ‘A Theory of Reality based on the Upanishads,’ to obviate the objection that his work was purely negative and critical. The chapter, if I may judge, is curious as an illustration of an Indian bringing western philosophy to the interpretation of Hindu thought. The Upanishads show us a progressive endeavour to define the Absolute. Matter, life, consciousness, the self, all prove inadequate, till the one comprehensive unity is reached in Brahman. As Radhakrishnan would interpret the Vedanta, Brahman is not a strict identity, but a unity of elements: nor is Maya sheer illusion, for it simply means that ‘the plurality of things is illusion if taken as ultimately real.’ As the finite has the Infinite within, it is always striving to transcend itself; so a finite universe is a process of development, and the process is only complete when the finite passes into Brahman. Pain and suffering are necessary phases of the soul’s growth, and moral evil is rooted in the assertion of the self-sufficiency of the finite. Sin is thus bound up with the existence of the finite as such: it is a permanent factor in this universe, though it does not exist in the transcendent spirit.

It is plain that Radhakrishnan does not interpret moral evil as that which *ought not* to be. It has a rightful place in the system of things: it is required for development and in the end is good in the making. So redemption loses much of the ethical and spiritual meaning that it has in Christianity and becomes a deliverance from the burden of the finite. This is no doubt in harmony with the speculative monism which is the teaching of the book. But it is just because many feel that moral evil is more than this, and that personal spirits are more real, free, and independent than is here admitted—in other words, that they cannot be reduced to phases of the Absolute—that they will remain unconvinced by the author's argument. Radhakrishnan is an acute critic of other systems: he is less conscious of the difficulties in his own system.

G. Galloway

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AN INDIAN MISSIONARY ON HINDUISM

Redemption, Hindu and Christian. By Sydney Cave, D.D. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. 1919.

Redemption, Hindu and Christian, is a thesis approved by the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The book consists of some 250 pages. The writer was formerly a missionary connected with the London Missionary Society and worked for several years in Southern India. He is now Principal of Cheshunt College, Cambridge. The main purpose of the essay is to expound the three great doctrines of Hinduism, karma, bhakti and redemption, and relate them to the Christian Gospel. The introductory chapter, entitled Religions and Religion, discusses the question of the finality of religion, and the claims of Christianity to such finality. Dr Cave admits that the history of religions has made it impossible to suppose that Christianity is absolute in any of its concrete forms. 'But though Christianity as we know it is insufficient, it is the faith of the writer that Christ is adequate.' Many who have been able to put themselves into sympathetic touch with the trend of Hindu thought and aspiration have been driven to the conclusion that our western form of Christianity is too one-sided to meet India's religious needs, but that the unutilized resources of the gospel of Christ are more than adequate for the purpose, and have, strictly speaking, no parallel in Indian religion. The remaining ten chapters of the book are divided into two parts, the first five dealing with the presuppositions of Essential Hinduism, and the second five with Christ's gospel and the apostolic experience in their relation to the great Hindu doctrines.

The section bearing on the presuppositions of Essential Hinduism presents a clear and sympathetic review of the more important aspects of religious literature and culture of India through the centuries. The Rigveda, the Upanishads, the Vedanta doctrine, the Bhagavadgita and the bhakti movement are all dealt with in turn. There is no trace, in the treatment, of the *odium theologicum.* The sacred books of Hinduism are allowed to speak for themselves, and there is a genuine and successful effort 'to speak of Hinduism with the fairness and sympathy with which we discuss the convictions of honoured friends.' Hinduism is taken at its best, as in days gone by it was often taken at its worst. Dr Cave knows very well that the Hinduism he is dealing with is not the religion of the masses, except in a very limited degree, but it represents the religious convictions of the enlightened few, and the average student of religion will only regard it as fair and reasonable that Hinduism at its best should be related to Christianity at its best, in such a treatment of the subject as Dr Cave has in view. There is perhaps some real danger that the uninitiated may sometimes be tempted to assume that there is no other side. Dr Cave, however, is not inclined to make extreme statements or express unbalanced judgments. The following (from p. **114**) may be quoted as an example of his general attitude:

> The Kṛishṇa of the Gita is indeed nobly and beautifully portrayed, and the attempt that used to be made by Christian apologists in India to ridicule the high teaching of the Gita by saying that it came from the mouth of a murderer, an adulterer and a thief, was as unjust as it was impolitic. Yet it has to be recognized more clearly than is generally done in the West that the Kṛishṇa cult which the Gita did so much to further has too often been a debasing influence. It is in this association of the ideal Kṛishṇa of the Gita with the Kṛishṇa of the Purāṇas that we have the most tragic feature in India's religious history. The Kṛishṇa of the Gita is the product of a devout and elevated imagination, but imagination may be degraded and blasphemous, and in the Purāṇas, Kṛishṇa is conceived by an imagination at once foul and foolish. Pornographic literature exists in Europe, to Christendom's disgrace, but it is detested

by religious men and exists not because of but in spite of Christianity. But here the records of Kṛishṇa's sensuality, told with every salacious detail, are 'religious' stories and familiar even to children. And the modern endeavour of men, who through the influence of Christianity have grown ashamed of these stories, to treat them as a spiritual allegory is only a counsel of despair, and bad, in that it continues to draw attention to tales which, in the interests of Indian morality, should be once for all rejected and forgotten. In the case of the Kṛishṇa cult even the noble conception of the Gita, because it was the product of imagination and not the record of fact, is unable to provide a standard. It could not save itself from being debased and befouled through association with the lewd Kṛishṇa of the Purāṇas. It is through the influence of Christianity that the Gita has now won its place as the best-prized book in India.

In fact in India to-day in certain limited Hindu circles a new Hindu canon is being formed under Christian influences, and I think we should view such a movement not with alarm but with sympathy, as being a product of the working of the Spirit of God in Hinduism itself.

We cannot follow in detail the argument of our author on its constructive side. Dr Cave says much that provides food for thought to those of us engaged in the task of seeking to Christianize India. He continually emphasizes the thought that in our modern Christianity we do not sufficiently find the present possession of eternal life. We are too much in the world rather than not of it. 'We have too often forgotten that the Christian gospel means liberation from the bondage of the temporal. Eternal life has been too often regarded as a vague and merely future thing instead of as a present possession, actual if incomplete.' 'Many a missionary finds to his bitter disappointment that he is regarded not as the humble servant of Christ, come to bring the good news of His salvation, but as the influential Sahib, looked up to more as a competent organizer than as a spiritual guide.' 'We are not able to meet the deepest aspirations of Hinduism unless we learn to speak as men to whom the eternal is the present and the spiritual the supremely real.' Dr Cave has given us a work at once strong, sane, scholarly and suggestive, and we commend it heartily to all interested in the work of Christian propaganda in India.

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ECONOMIC STUDIES IN INDIAN VILLAGES

SOME SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGES. Edited by GILBERT SLATER, D.Sc. London and Madras: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net. 1919.

FEW books can have been recently published which give more help than this, even though the help be indirect, to missionaries working in South India. It gives a picture of just that other side of the actualities of life in Indian villages which the missionary is liable to neglect in his preoccupation with the moral and religious side of life. It is impossible to help people in any real way without knowing their life, and the economic facts with which this book deals cover the largest part of the life of the Indian villager. Every district missionary finds himself sooner or later involved in the attempt to understand the true economic position of the people among whom he lives, but most missionaries have no training in economics and hardly know what to look for or where to begin their inquiries.

Dr Gilbert Slater, formerly of Ruskin College, Oxford, on taking up his appointment as Professor of Indian Economics in the University of Madras, soon saw that the next step to be taken in economic research in India was a careful survey of a number of specimen villages. Fortunately he secured the co-operation of a number of his students, who must have done much hard work to get some of the information included in this book, and who had better opportunities than any foreigner of finding out the real state of affairs in the villages which they specially studied. At the same time they were going through useful discipline themselves. It is specially valuable just now that the habit of patient research, instead of the habit of ready affirmation, should be cultivated in India concerning all these economic questions which often become the subject of heated political controversy. In mission colleges, possibly even in mission high schools, in co-operation with the students who have access to the real sources of information, some work is already being done, but probably much more is possible in the way of collecting reliable data for scientific and impartial study of social and economic questions, with benefit alike to the investigating student and to the body politic. Dr Slater began by making enough investigation himself to discover the most important subjects needing study, and his account of two villages takes the reader right to the heart of rural life and its problems. Then he set his students to work on a questionnaire in which the function of economic inquiry is sufficiently generously conceived to cover such things as sanitation, facilities for education, books available to villagers and the like. This questionnaire ought to prove a useful guide to all who are trying to gain a thorough knowledge of the condition of any particular village.

The students had plenty of time in which to secure the required information, and in some cases have obviously done excellent and painstaking research work. There is an interesting variety in the testimony which they give in cases where they were likely to see what their temperament, optimistic or the reverse, predisposed them to look for. One observer, for example, who tells us that 'landlords are always very kind to their tenants,' also assures us that 'in the case of snake-bites the person bitten is cured by the mere pronunciation of certain mantrams; it is not a superstition to be lightly spoken of, it is the actual case.' But one of his colleagues, who has serious criticisms to make upon the conditions on which landlords let out their land and pay their labourers, says of the village doctors: 'They take advantage of the simple credulity and superstition of the ignorant villagers and give an air of mystery to their art by the practice of superstitious rites akin to witchcraft.' But the net result of the testimony of about twenty observers is an unexpectedly complete picture of Indian village life in the South. Anyone bringing to the reading of this book a little imagination, helped by the beautiful and thoroughly typical photographs which illustrate it, can get precious insight into Indian life, insight which in most cases will produce greatly increased sympathy. Europeans are far too ready to suppose that all the troubles of the Indian ryot are due to ignorance and conservatism. There is tragedy behind the figures given of the man who spent six hundred and twenty rupees cultivating on thirteen acres of land a crop of senna which the war rendered wholly unsaleable; or those of the enterprising villager who tried the suggestions of the Agricultural Department, grew paddy far taller than that in the surrounding fields, yet found that after all some unreckoned factor made the produce small in proportion to the labour and money he had bestowed. Most Indian tenants have no margin of capital to waste on unprofitable experimentation. The Indian farmer has more difficulties to contend against than is generally understood. Agricultural science could greatly help him, but what he has already accomplished without it is worthy of all praise.

Education as given in the villages looks a very poor thing in this book, useless as equipping the child for village life, often positively harmful in its immediate results. In one Telugu village described, 'The *karnam* alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the ability latterly.' Every testimony in the book provides more evidence of the need for such a commission on village education as has just been visiting India.

Mission work scarcely appears at all. One is aware of schools here and there for the depressed classes, but as far as the village as a whole is concerned mission work scarcely exists. As a passer-by scarcely leaves any impression on the plate of the camera set for long exposure to a different picture, so is it with mission work and the life of these villages. It is a bitter tonic, but good for us, to realize that as yet the great missionary enterprise has scarcely scratched the surface of the life of the mass of the middle classes in India.

As to the condition of the *panchamas* who in the majority of cases are doing the hardest labour in the cultivation of the soil, this economic survey provides material enough for a good-sized book about their wrongs. Dr Slater himself soon stumbled across the fact that a *padial* or permanent debtor making part repayment of his debt in the form of compulsory labour is so badly fed that it would distinctly pay him to commit a crime and go to prison, where he would get more food. Says one observer: 'Necessarily the *panchama* houses are dirty;' and another: 'It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell.' Pitiful revelations are given concerning the chronic indebtedness of the villagers. 'A ryot having five children and twelve acres of land borrowed Rs150 at Rs1.8 per cent five years ago to marry his eldest son. Two months ago he handed over his twelve acres of land to the merchant because he found it impossible to repay the debt. This is a common case.'

Not the least valuable part of the book is that in which Dr Slater himself ably and clearly defends the broad principles governing the present land revenue system.

There is no space in this review to discuss Dr Slater's concluding observations. At one point (pp. 230 and 231) he appears to us a little too comfortable about the food supply. Figures from Crop Reports no doubt show that in a normal year plenty of cereals are grown to feed the population, but so many years are not normal that a large amount must be held in stock in case of a failure of the next monsoon. Moreover the rest of this book itself provides ample evidence of great inequality of distribution as between different social grades. Whatever be the cause, the fact of there being a terrible amount of actual hunger in Indian villages during certain months when there is no work to do on the land is beyond dispute. But on the whole the book seems to us to distribute the lights and shades of the picture with wonderful accuracy. What is still more important, it abounds in practical suggestions for the improvement of existing conditions.

This book ought to be in all libraries of colleges where missionaries are in training who are likely to go to India.

G. E. PHILLIPS

LONDON

A DISTINCTIVE LITURGY FOR AN INDIAN CHURCH

THE EUCHARIST IN INDIA. By J. C. WINSLOW and others. With a Preface by the BISHOP OF BOMBAY. London: Longmans. 7s. 6d. net. 1920.

THIS book is more clearly defined by its sub-title as constituting 'a plea for a distinctive liturgy for the Indian Church, with a suggested form.' When Augustine of Canterbury, perplexed by the variety of customs which he found in Gaul and England differing from those of Rome, referred back to headquarters for instructions, Gregory answered, 'What thou hast found in any Church more pleasing to Almighty God, that do thou solicitously choose out; and in the English Church, while yet young in the faith, pour in with excellent instruction what thou gatherest from many Churches.' There is an historic fitness, of which the compilers seem to be conscious, in members of the Anglican Church proposing for the Church in India what Gregory had wisely recommended, but Augustine had dismally failed to effect, for the Church of England.

The suggested liturgy, which is excellently printed at the end of the volume, is an adaptation in shortened form of the Syriac Liturgy of St James which has for more than two and a half centuries been in use in the Syrian Church of Malabar. It is introduced by various short essays; of these the two which will command most widespread interest are the essay by Mr J. C. Winslow on 'The Need of a Liturgy for the Indian Church' and the preface by the Bishop of Bombay in which he gives some suggestions on the relation of uniformity to unity of worship.

The immediate purpose of the book is to provide, as it were, a test-case for the Lambeth Conference when it comes to deal with the question of 'Liturgical Variations permissible in a Province or

Diocese,' which is one of the subjects on its agenda. Hitherto the Lambeth rulings bearing upon this have taken as granted that the liturgy contained in the Book of Common Prayer would always be the norm for at any rate every mission in direct touch with the Church of England, and that such variations as might be permitted by authority would be really variations in detail. Anglican missions in Africa and the East are already outgrowing the belief ; as the Bishop of Bombay frankly says :

> We will not assume that because we like our liturgy or that because it suits us, a little tinkering will suffice to make it suit them [the people of India] . . . the ideal of the compilers of this book is not to make the English liturgy more acceptable to Indians, but to encourage Indians to discover the most natural expression of their congenital devotional instincts.

We do not underrate the importance of the decisions which may be taken at Lambeth on this subject. With that, however, we are not here directly concerned, for this book raises a wider question which will have sooner or later to be faced by every missionary body. With the actual liturgy which the compilers put forward it would not be difficult to find fault—its elaborate ceremonial, defended by Mr Winslow on the ground that in his experience it has been found to appeal to the Oriental, but on which he does not insist ; its *Secreta*, or prayers said silently by the celebrant, which is surely not a tradition we should desire to hand on to a young Church—but to content ourselves with such criticisms is unworthy ; the compilers are adventurers and they explicitly disclaim to have reached the ideal. Mr Winslow's eloquent appeal is, however, a challenge. He writes :

> We hope that all Indian Christians, irrespective of denomination, will see the desirability of the Indian Church possessing some common liturgical form for at least this one great central service ; and we hope that they will set themselves to the task of producing a Eucharistic liturgy which shall be distinctively Indian in character but at the same time recognizable as of the same family with all other Christian liturgies throughout the world, and in particular related closely with those of the East.

Well, what about it ? We are ever professing that we have no desire to foist on the Church in India our ' Elizabethan settlement ' or to introduce her to the barren eucharistic controversies of the West ; here then, it might fairly be urged, is a test for the sincerity of our professions : can we agree to offer them in some modified form a liturgy which claimed to be already acclimatized to India and is derived from the ancient Greek Liturgy of St James, regarded by some experts as 'the most beautiful liturgy in Christendom'? Or is it the case that we do differ fundamentally amongst ourselves in regard to the associations of thought which have gathered round the eucharistic service in the Eastern Church? Happily perhaps, the answer to such questions will have to be given not by us, but by the Christians of India.

This book is not only, as the Bishop describes it in his preface, 'revolutionary and important' but also very courageous; it raises questions which ought to be thoughtfully considered by all who have at heart the future of the Church in India, even though they may be unable to go all the way with its compilers.

B. K. CUNNINGHAM

CAMBRIDGE

IMPERIALISM AND MISSIONS IN AFRICA

EMPIRE AND COMMERCE IN AFRICA: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM. By LEONARD WOOLF. London: Allen & Unwin. 20s. net. 1920.

THIS volume of nearly 400 closely printed pages contains only one or two incidental references to missionaries. Its author, if I am not mistaken, has no great belief in, or love for, Christian missions. But its main contention, urged with great ability, is one of direct and vital concern to missions. We may make whatever allowance may be necessary for the fact that the book was prepared as a report for the Research Department of the Labour Party in Great Britain and that the writer's views are coloured by the political opinions and, it may be, prejudices of that party. The purpose of the book is to maintain a particular thesis, and the advocate of a thesis is always in danger of selecting and emphasizing the facts which support his thesis and unduly ignoring the rest. But the truth of Mr Woolf's thesis is a matter of importance to the Christian Church, and it is necessary to reckon with the facts which he brings forward in support of it.

His contention is that the relations of European Powers with Africa have been determined by the belief that commerce is the greatest of political interests and that the power of the State should be used on the world outside the State in the economic interests of its own citizens. He then reviews the working out of this belief of economic imperialism in the African policies of Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, and finds that it has led to international friction and actual war between European States, native wars involving great loss of life, the destruction of native populations through the introduction of alcohol and the vices of western civilization, the expropriation of native lands and forced native labour in the interests of Europeans. These facts are not new. The value of Mr Woolf's book lies in their substantiation in detail and the connexion which he traces between the beliefs and desires of European rulers and the results to which these beliefs and desires directly or indirectly lead. Mr Woolf started with the intention of writing a complete history of policy in the whole of the African continent. But it became clear that this would require not one but three or four volumes, and he has therefore confined himself to a careful review of European policy in Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Abyssinia and East Africa, with a brief chapter on the Belgian Congo. His account of the historical relations of the European Powers with these territories and of the results of those relations is based on a thorough examination of available sources of information, and wherever possible he relies on the statements of the principal actors regarding their aims and policies.

It would not be difficult to adduce evidence to show that Mr Woolf's account of the relations of Europe with Africa is one-sided. Other motives were present besides those of economic imperialism. In the history of Africa there are names like those of Livingstone and Grenfell. A study of British administration in West Africa and Basutoland, which Mr Woolf was not able to undertake, would show results different from those which he here describes and pointing in the direction which he himself would desire European policy in Africa to follow. It is much more important, however, from the standpoint of the progress of Christianity in Africa, that as Christians we should honestly face the truth in Mr Woolf's contention than that we should soothe ourselves by diverting our minds to such complementary truths as may have received too little emphasis. The economic advantage of the European peoples may not have been the only motive at work in the relations of Europe with Africa, but it has been one motive and probably by far the most powerful motive. It would be difficult in the light of the evidence brought forward by Mr Woolf to dispute that it has been the motive which has largely determined the policy of European States.

Now in so far as European policy in relation to Africa is dictated by the selfish interests of Europe without regard to the interests of Africans it is an unchristian policy. In the Christian scheme economic interests cannot be paramount. Our Lord's teaching is that 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.' He set a supreme value upon human personality, and no policy in regard to Africa can be Christian which does not make the welfare of the inhabitants of the continent the first consideration. The adoption of such a standpoint would mean a radical change in the policy of European States as described in this volume.

Mr Woolf recognizes that the only thing which can bring about a better state of matters is a change in the belief and desires that have inspired action in the past. In other words nothing less than a change in human nature will serve the purpose. It is this conclusion to which his whole argument leads up that makes his book so searching a challenge to the Christian conscience. For a change in human nature is just what Christianity has set itself to bring about. Where the Church has been living it has made this demand on the individual. If it is to be true to its mission it must claim that the policies of nations should also be shaped in accordance with Christian principles. To make this demand is a necessary part of the missionary undertaking. We cannot go on taking the Gospel to the peoples of Africa and at the same time acquiesce in national conduct which directly contravenes that Gospel. An undertaking with so deep an insincerity at its heart could not hope for success. Mr Woolf has rendered, it may be unintentionally, a real service to the missionary cause by raising so clearly and sharply issues which are vital from the Christian standpoint, and by treating with such wide and exact knowledge questions for the right solution of which knowledge as well as zeal is necessary.

J. H. OLDHAM

LONDON

MISSIONARY SURVEY

MISSIONARY SURVEY: AS AN AID TO INTELLIGENT CO-OPERATION IN FOREIGN MISSIONS. By ROLAND ALLEN and THOMAS COCHRANE, M.B.C.M. London: Longmans. 6s. net. 1920.

THE sense that adequate knowledge of the area to be occupied and of existing work within it is essential as a basis for missionary policy has happily become so widespread that a book on missionary survey is sure to be eagerly read. No one can fail to appreciate the pains taken by the authors of the volume before us to elucidate their complex subject and to convince their readers that missionary survey is as possible as it is to be desired. Their enthusiasm is infectious and their industry is a call to a patient investigation of the proposals they make. Yet it is a curious experience to turn to this volume straight from a study of the unfinished proofs of the All-India Survey—the *Survey Manual* and the available sections of the *Report of the Survey of Mysore*—and the report of the scheme for the General Missionary Survey of China in the *Proceedings* of the China Continuation Committee for 1919. It is like walking into a mist. The Indian fragment of a great unfinished task and the Chinese scheme—now well on its way to completion—answer all the questions which rise to the mind of the student and get to the heart of things. Though the scope of each is staggering in its magnitude the impression left is that the thing can be and should be done. If the result of the book which Mr Roland Allen and Dr Cochrane have written were to stimulate survey on similar well-organized lines in relation to responsible missionary bodies on the mission field and for adequate and clearly defined ends, then a real service would have been rendered to the cause. But there is at least a danger that the book may tend rather to stimulate survey on lines where the actual return is altogether disproportionate to the amount of labour involved. The more highly one appreciates the value of scientific missionary survey the more apprehensive one is lest a method so potent and so costly should be discredited by ineffective use.

The authors challenge frank criticism and have avowedly so drawn their tables as to 'open the door for . . . intelligent opposition.' It is therefore only fair that a critic should give at least an illustration or two of points on which the book seems unsatisfactory. There is no indication of the agency by which extensive missionary survey might be carried out; no consideration of those problems of control, of staff, of the incidence of questionnaires or of expenditure which are too serious to be ignored. It is difficult to ascertain whether the world survey which seems to be the goal before the writers—but to which only six pages are devoted—is to be built up out of the survey of mission stations and their districts, to the elaboration of which the book is almost entirely given up. The view of missionary methods which Mr Roland Allen has so ably promulgated elsewhere seems to create difficulty when applied to a survey of the field. The functions assigned to educational and medical work—'medical missions are and ought to be . . . mere handmaids to evangelism'—will certainly not meet with general acceptance. When Mr Allen's view of the relations which should exist between medical, educational and evangelistic work is reflected in tables calling for a return of the number of hospitals visited regularly by educationalists (p. 111) and the number of evangelists who regularly visit schools (p. 99) one begins to wonder whether individualistic views—even those of so fresh a thinker as Mr Allen—really further the ends of effective statistical work.

Other points which seem to be open to question might easily be mentioned, but enough has perhaps been written to suggest that the proposals advanced in this book should be considered in that attitude of open-minded criticism which its authors desire, and that its conclusions should be carefully tested before being used as a basis of action.

G. A. Gollock

Wimbledon

EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES IN MISSIONARY WORK

Educational Principles and Missionary Methods. By Roland Allen, M.A. With an Introduction by Bishop Gore. London: Robert Scott. 7s. 6d. net. 1919.

There are not many writers on missionary affairs who possess in a higher degree than Mr Roland Allen the power to stimulate thought. His well-known work, *Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours*, aroused a great deal of criticism and opposition, but it also provoked a great deal of hard thinking. Mr Allen is the kind of writer who invites attack. His statements are invariably sweeping, and there is something about his manner of writing which creates a desire to disagree even when one in fact is convinced by his argument. This is very true of the present work. We have no doubt that many people who ought to learn from Mr Allen will be a little repelled by his controversial style. His generalizations will provoke criticism and his dogmatism arouse opposition. Nevertheless, he has written a highly-important book, and one which both missionary administrators at home and missionaries in the field will do well to ponder. The book is issued with a foreword by Bishop Gore, who earnestly commends the author's main thesis with the reservation that in his opinion the dogmatic element in teaching is under-rated.

Briefly, Mr Allen's purpose is to apply the canons of educational science to the work of missions. He is not concerned primarily with what is commonly called educational work, that is the activities carried on in teaching institutions. He has something to say on this subject, but his main concern is with evangelistic work. He points out that the whole process of building and developing a Church is essentially an educational process and as such must be conducted in accordance with educational principles. It is therefore to the district missionary, the man in whose hands lies the direction of pastoral work, that the book most intimately applies.

The author faces candidly the central and acknowledged weaknesses in much missionary work. He notices in many parts of the mission field that congregations do not grow, that there seems to be no native self-propagative life, that they are kept alive by the labour of the foreigner and without him would relapse into heathenism. Reasons may be found here and there for this state of things in the peculiar nature of the people, their backwardness or lack of initiative, but it will not do to take refuge in this plea wherever we find this weakness present. 'When we find the same failing everywhere, it is time to look for the cause of the failing in some other quarter than the national characteristics of our converts. The only other quarter to which we can look is ourselves, and our characteristic methods of education. If all the pupils in a school fail at the same point, we begin to question the capacity of the master' (p. 9).

What is the remedy? Begin, says the author, by recognizing your own failure, just as the modern educational movement sprang out of recognition of the failure of the teacher. Then apply these principles which are generally accepted in regard to the teaching of children to the upbuilding of the Church. Take, for instance, the principle that in all thought for his education the pupil should take the first place. In actual fact the convert is frequently treated as a means to an end, not as an end in himself. His education and development are subordinated to a mission policy or mission exigencies. Or take the law that education must begin with knowledge of the pupil himself. Mr Allen complains that for all the mass of archæological, ethnological and anthropological matter collected by the labours of missionaries, little is done to collect evidence as to the actual religious capacities of different peoples, and that it is taken for granted that there are universally applicable methods of presenting the Gospel which may be employed equally with Hottentots or Chinese. What is wanted is, firstly, study of the people to discover what truths are most readily received, what with difficulty and what not at all; and, secondly, direction as to the lines of teaching to be followed if the several kinds of truth are to be successfully presented. Or take the principle that education is concerned with the *development* of the pupil. How far does our practice in the introduction of complete systems of worship and government make development difficult or impossible ? What is introduced is too often so completely developed that it never becomes the pupil's own.

The most memorable point in the book is an illustration, given in a closing chapter, of a true educational method. The illustration is taken from a letter of the present Bishop of Dornakal, describing the introduction of new methods of convert-training in the Telugu country. An apparently hopeless man, who for two months had tried in vain to learn the Lord's Prayer in Telugu, gave utterance to the following beautiful prayer: ' Oh Father who art in Heaven, You are our Father, we are Your children. Keep us all well. Heal my rheumatism and my child's boil. Keep us from all wild animals, the bear and the tiger. Forgive us our sins, our quarrels, angry words, all that we have done since morning. Make us good. Bring all the castes to kneel down to You and call You Father.' The author proceeds to demonstrate in a rather pedantic manner the way in which this prayer fulfils his educational canons, but he does not succeed in killing the story.

We hope this book will be widely read. The questions it touches are absolutely vital. How much of the discussion about Church and Mission, for instance, comes, in the last resort, not to matters of administration at all, but to questions of educational methods and principle. Mr Allen takes us to the roots of things, and disagreement with his judgments of fact ought not to obscure the importance and practical urgency of the principles he advocates.

Incidentally, we hope that this book may indirectly assist in putting evangelistic work in its proper place as a work demanding the highest gifts and training, and one to which men and women who are especially fitted for educational work should be sent without any suggestion that their talents are being wasted.

W. Paton

London

SHORTER NOTICES

The History of the Indian Nationalist Movement. By Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I. (London: John Murray. 12s. 1920). The salvation of the world from tragedy seems to depend on the measure in which the influence of sanity, reason and goodwill can be brought to bear on its many burning problems. These qualities characterize in a high degree Sir Verney Lovett's study of the relations between Great Britain and India. The impression of the present situation in India left on the mind after the perusal of his book is a sombre one, but if the questions at issue are approached by a sufficient number of people on both sides in the spirit of this volume, the difficulties, great though they are, need not prove insuperable. The writer, who retired from the Indian Civil Service last year, and who was a member of the Rowlatt Commission, traces the growth in India of the nationalist movement from the first Congress held in 1885. He avails himself largely of the language of Indians themselves to show the trend of nationalist opinion and strives to do justice both to the nationalist standpoint and to the difficulties which are present to the minds of British administrators. The book is brought down to the passing of the recent Reform Bill. Those who have followed closely political developments in India during recent years will not perhaps find much that is new to them, though they will be grateful for the careful and balanced presentation of facts; but those less familiar with the situation in India will find here an admirable guide to questions which it is of vital importance for all who are interested in India to understand. It is the British side of the case that is here presented, and if an equally fair-minded Indian nationalist had written the book the proportions and emphasis would have been different. But Sir Verney Lovett sympathizes with those who 'want to be in their own country what other people are in theirs.' And if he presents another side of the situation from that which nationalists see, it is the point of view of one who has at heart 'the well-being of the people whom we have known as the friendly companions of the best years of our lives.'

Indian Nationality. By R. N. Gilchrist, M.A., Principal and Professor of Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Krishnagar College, Bengal (London: Longmans. 7s. 6d. net. 1920). Professor Gilchrist's little book is a painstaking disquisition on the subject of what nationality means, how far the conditions for its realization exist in India and to what extent the obstacles can be overcome. It contains a number of sober and sensible observations. His conclusion is that the India of the future will be a federal unity in which a considerable amount of diversity between the various constituent states will continue. The duty of the Central Government will be to keep the diversity from going too far, so as to produce disruption. He holds that the common language for India can only be English ‘ at least till such time as some vernacular can efficiently take its place.’ This, of course, is repugnant to a considerable body of Indian sentiment, but, as Professor Gilchrist points out, English at present serves not only as a means of communication between Indians of different speech but as a means of keeping educated India in touch with movements of thought and scientific progress in Europe. If one language can serve these two purposes, it would obviously require a double expenditure of time for Indians to acquire two languages to do the same work, and in the long run considerations of sentiment are apt to give place to the steady pressure of practical convenience.

Foreign Missions Year Book of North America, 1920. Edited by Roderick Beach (New York: 25 Madison Avenue. 1920). The second issue of this year book, covering the year 1919, far surpasses the first one which was noticed in these volumes twelve months ago. The surveys have gained in grasp and in proportion; the sections on the home base have been expanded to include South Africa and Australasia; some of the foreign mission fields have been re-grouped. There are fresh and interesting articles on the Missions of the Roman Catholic Church and on Geography and Missions. The selected bibliography of recent literature relating to foreign mission work, with its terse summaries and discriminating evaluations, is an admirable piece of work. Two additional indexes of considerable practical use have been added—one, a directory of mission society officers, the other an international system of initials for Protestant missionary societies. (It is a little disconcerting to find initials given for nearly 550 of these.) The résumé of the conditions of the Treaty of Peace so far as they affect foreign missions will be found most useful for reference. The volume is also greatly improved in form and attractiveness.

The Republic of Liberia. By R. C. F. Maugham, H.B.M. Consul at Monrovia (London: Allen & Unwin. 18s. net. 1920). This book, written before the war but not published owing to difficulties of production, gives a clear and well-ordered account of the negro republic, its history, commerce, agriculture, flora, fauna and methods of administration. The illustrations are numerous and interesting. The writer takes an optimistic view of the future of the republic. In a supplementary preface the changes in the international relationships of Liberia, especially in regard to finance, since the beginning of the war are detailed. Missions are referred to superficially, but in a sympathetic spirit. It is strongly urged that they would do better to press on to the unvisited up-country regions among the really wild tribes instead of continuing to concentrate at or near the coast.

Records of Missionary Secretaries (London : United Council for Missionary Education. 1s. 8d. 1920). The London Secretaries' Association, formed in 1819 to afford the chief officers of foreign missionary societies opportunity for mutual counsel and fellowship, celebrated its centenary last year. This small volume contains an interesting summary of the subjects discussed at the meetings of the Association, drawn from the seven volumes in which the records of its more than 650 meetings have been preserved. It is impressive to find that such topics as comity, co-operation, statistics and survey, the influencing of the press, the specialized preparation of missionaries and the relation of missions and governments, which we are wont to regard as ' modern ' problems, engaged the attention of our predecessors from fifty to a hundred years ago.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Mr Edwyn Bevan, an Honorary Fellow of New College, Oxford, is the author of *The House of Seleucus*, *Indian Nationalism* and other works.

The Rev. Albertus Pieters joined the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America in 1891. His name is widely known in connexion with the work of Newspaper Evangelism which he has successfully carried on for the last eight years.

George Freeland Barbour, D.Phil., is author of *A Philosophical Study of Christian Ethics* and articles on social questions; he is lecturer in the Edinburgh School of Social Study and Training and a member of the Scottish Council of the League of Nations Union.

The Rev. William McCarthy went to China in 1902 as a missionary of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. He has been stationed at Anking.

Pastor Francis R. Merkel, Lic.Theol. (Göttingen), D.Phil. (Strassburg), is minister at Gustenfelden near Nürnberg. His article contains the substance of his book *G. W. von Leibniz und die China Mission—Eine Untersuchung über die Anfange der protestantischen Missionsbewegung*, which is shortly to be published by the J. C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung in Leipsic. It is the first of the scientific studies of the history and theory of Christian missions published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Missionswissenschaft.

Dr Eugene Stock has taken a leading part in the administration of Anglican missions. He is author of the four-volume *History of the Church Missionary Society* and many other works.

Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., Sc.D., sometime scholar of Somerville College, Oxford, is a member of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujarat. She is author of *The Heart of Jainism* and other works.

Miss Florence Mackenzie, M.A., has succeeded Miss Small as Principal of the Women's Missionary College in Edinburgh, which belongs to the United Free Church of Scotland.

The writers of book reviews are: The Right Rev. Charles Gore, D.D., until recently Bishop of Oxford; the Very Rev. George Galloway, D.Phil., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology at St Mary's College, St Andrews; the Rev. George Howells, Ph.D., Principal of Serampore College and a member of the English Baptist Mission; the Rev. G. E. Phillips, of the United Theological College, Bangalore, who went to India in 1901 under the London Missionary Society; the Rev. B. K. Cunningham, formerly a missionary in India and now Principal of the Clergy Training School at Cambridge; and the Rev. W. Paton, Missionary Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain.

CHANGE OF OFFICE

The first offices of the *International Review of Missions* were in Edinburgh (1912–1918). Subsequently temporary offices were occupied in London at 117 Victoria Street, Westminster. Now, after long waiting, permanent headquarters for the work of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland and of the international committees which arose out of the World Missionary Conference in 1910 have been secured at Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W. 1. All editorial or business communications for the Review should henceforth be sent to the new address.

When articles in the Review are an expression of the policy or views of the Continuation Committee, or of the conclusions reached by any of its Special Committees, this fact will be made clear. In all other instances the writer of the paper is alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editor has the advantage of the co-operation of Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai), Mr Jakob E. Lundahl (Stockholm), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Missionsinspektor Lic.M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Mr Kenneth Saunders (Rangoon), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (London).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 480.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. HISTORY
II. MISSIONARY BIOGRAPHY
III. THE HOME BASE
IV. THE MISSION FIELDS
V. WORKS OF REFERENCE
VI. THEORY AND PRINCIPLES OF MISSIONS
VII. THE TRAINING AND QUALIFICATIONS OF MISSIONARIES
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X. COMITY, CO-OPERATION AND UNITY
XI. CHRISTIANITY AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS
XII. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS OF MISSIONS
XIII. HORTATORY AND PRACTICAL
XIV. NEW MISSIONARY MAGAZINES
XV. MISSIONARY EDUCATION PUBLICATIONS

I. History

†DIE NESTORIANER-MISSION IN ASIEN. Dr F. R. Merkel. AMZ, 1920 (Mar.), 59–70. *384*.

†THE MISSIONS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION. Eugene Stock. IRM, 1920 (July), 411–25. *385*.

†TRENNUNG UND ANNÄHERUNG. AUS DER GESCHICHTE DER HOLLÄNDISCHEN MISSION. T. Rauws. AMZ, 1920 (Apr.), 81–90. *386*.

See also *395a*, *416*.

II. Missionary Biography

FR. COILLARD. SAMBESIMISSIONENS GRUNDLAEGGER. I. Fauerholdt. 71 S. Kóbenhavn: D.M.S. Forlag. Kr. 1.75. 1919. *387*.

ANNA COOPE, SKY PILOT OF THE SAN BLAS INDIANS. AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Map. Illus. viii + 180 pp. New York: American Tract Society. 1917. *388*.

The simple record of a weaver who became a bold and successful missionary among the Indians in Venezuela and Panama.

A LABRADOR DOCTOR. Wilfrid T. Grenfell. Illus. 441 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. $4.00. 1919. *389*.

A PIONEER OF NEW GUINEA: THE STORY OF ALBERT MACLAREN. Edgar Rogers. Illus. London: S.P.G. 3s. 1920. *390*.

A fine life story, retold for boys. The original biography (1908) is now out of print.

†Willem Luyke (II). Jonkvr. H. B. de la Bassecour Caan. MNZG, 1920 (LXIV^1), 17–21. *391.*

†Archbishop Nikolai. H. St George Tucker, D.D., Bishop of Kyoto. The Orthodox Apostle of Japan. Leonid Turkevich. *Constructive Quarterly*, 1919 (Dec.), 553–65. *392.*

Vernon Harold Starr, 1882–1918 and after. 106 pp. London: C.M.S. 1s. 6d. 1920. *393.*

A brief account of the young medical missionary who was stabbed by a Pathan at Peshawar in 1918.

Hudson Taylor, the Man who Dared. Marshall Broomhall. Illus. 74 pp. London: Morgan & Scott. 2s. net. 1920. *394.*

A great story retold for young people.

See also *420*, *421*.

III. The Home Base

The New Opportunity of the Church. Robert E. Speer. 111 pp. New York: Macmillan Company. 60 cents. 1919. *395.*

The closing chapter deals with missionary vocation.

Records of Missionary Secretaries. 80 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1920. *395a.*

See review, p. 469.

†Missions as a Centre of Co-operation and Union in the Netherlands. A. M. Brouwer, D.D. *Constructive Quarterly*, 1920 (Mar.), 100–16. *396.*

†Kann die Volksmission etwas von der Heidenmission lernen? E. Johannssen. EMM, 1920 (März), 61–70. *397.*

†Ernste Missionssorgen. J. Witte. ZMR, 1920, 80–7; 111–7; 137–42. *398.*

†Missionswissenschaft und Missionspraxis. J. Schmidlin. ZM, 1920 (Heft 1), 1–11. *399.*

†Die deutsche Missionsfrage, Tatsachen, Grundlagen und Aussichten. M. Grösser. ZM, 1920 (Heft 1), 11–24. *400.*

†Introduction à l'Etude Sociale des Missions. Marc Boegner. *Le Christianisme Social*, 1920 (Feb.–Mar.), 85–93. *401.*

†The Future of Missions. Special Missionary Supplement to *The Guardian* (London), 1920 (Apr. 23), 417–22. *402.*

Conference Reports and Year Books

Foreign Missions Year Book of North America, 1920 (covering the Year 1919). Edited by Roderick Beach. New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel, 25 Madison Avenue. *403.*

See review, p. 468.

See also *485* (Missionary Survey).

IV. The Mission Fields

Japan

(*including Chosen and Formosa*)

Modern Japan: its Political, Military and Industrial Development. W. Montgomery McGovern, Ph.D. London: Fisher Unwin. 15s. net. 1920. *404.*

Interesting and picturesque, sometimes misleading. The author is a Buddhist priest.

Modern Japan: Social, Industrial, Political. Amos Hershey and Susanne Hershey. 382 pp. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. $1.50. 1919. *405.*

By a professor and his wife who visited Japan. Contains little fresh material.

New Life in the Oldest Empire. Charles F. Sweet. 185 pp. New York: Macmillan Company. $1.25. London: S.P.C.K. 6s. net. 1920. *406.*

A review is in preparation.

Korean Treaties. Compiled by Henry Chung, M.A. xii+226 pp. New York: H. S. Nichols. $3. 1919. *407.*

A Korean publishes the treaties of his country with ten nations. A short introduction is added.

Winning Buddha's Smile. A Korean Legend. Translated and adapted by Charles M. Taylor. Illus. 153 pp. Boston: R. G. Badger. $1.50. 1919. *408.*

One of the oldest specimens of Korean literature, valuable as enshrining religious teaching in folk-lore.

†The Missionary Outlook in Korea. James S. Gale. MRW, 1920 (Feb.), 117–21. *409.*

See also *392* (Biography); *413–4* (Relations with China); *498–9* (Religion).

China

Camps and Trails in China. A Narrative of Explorations, Adventure and Sport in Little-known China. Roy Chapman Andrews and Yvette Borup Andrews. Illus. Map. xxvi+334 pp. New York and London: D. Appleton. $3. 1919. *410.*

An account of the Asiatic Zoological Expedition sent to south-west China in 1916–7.

†The new Leaven in Chinese Politics. John Dewey. *Asia*, 1920 (Apr.), 267–72. *411.*

†The Popular Education Movement in China. T. H. Lee. CR, 1920 (Jan.), 44–9. *412.*

The Truth about China and Japan. B. L. Putnam Weale. Maps. 248 pp. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $2. 1919. *413.*

Reprinted from *Asia*.

†The Japanese-Chinese Question. E. H. Parker. *New China Review*, 1920 (Feb.), 89–98. *414.*

†Gedanken über den Künftigen Aufbau der deutschen Mission in China. Pastor von Probst. AMZ, 1920 (Feb.), 33–8. *415.*

The Missionary Principles and Practice of the United Evangelical Church. Benjamin H. Niebel. Part II. A Venture of Faith, a History of the China Mission of the United Evangelical Church. Homer H. Dubs. Illus. Map. 288 pp. Harrisburg: Home and Foreign Mission Society of the United Evangelical Church. 1919. *416.*

The history of a new organization working mainly in Hunan Province.

†A Chinese View of the Missionaries. Wu Lien Teh. CR, 1920 (Jan.), 9–12. *417.*

See also *394* (Biography); *479* (Education and Health); *480–1* (Education); *484* (Christian Literature); *487* (Approach); *488* (Church); *500* (Religion); *531–2* (Lesson Material).

Malay Archipelago

†Art. 123 R.-R. Ned. Indië. M. Lindenborn. II (Slot). *Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, 1920 (LVII^2), 81–94. *418.*

†De Parhoedamdam beweging. E. J. van den Berg. MNZG, 1920 (LXIV^1), 22–38. *419.*

Onder Kolonialen en Ketting-gangers. Leven en werken van Zendeling J. J. Wijnveldt. P. de Zeeuw, J.G. zn. 47 blz. Groningen: E. Venema. f 0.90. 1920. *420.*

Wijnveldt (1865–1898) officiated as army chaplain at Lombok among the colonial soldiers and preached the Gospel among the chain-gang at Sawah-Loento (Sumatra).

Sir Stamford Raffles, Founder of Singapore, 1819, and some of his Friends and Contemporaries. J. A. Bethune Cook. 205 pp. London: Stockwell. 7s. 6d. net. 1919. *421.*

British India and Ceylon

A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I. (late I.C.S.). 299 pp. London: Murray. 12s. net. 1920. *422.*

See review, p. 466.

Indian Nationality. With an Introduction by Prof. Ramsey Muir. R. N. Gilchrist. xx+246 pp. London: Longmans. 7s. 6d. net. 1920. *423.*

See review, p. 467.

†Some Factors in the Political Situation in India. *Church Quarterly Review*, 1920 (Jan.), 293–320. *424.*

†Reports of Conferences. (Indian National Congress, Moslem League, Muslim Educational Conference, Industrial Conference, All-India Christian Conference, Hindu Conference, Temperance Conference, and Anglo-Indian Empire League.) *Indian Review*, 1920 (Jan.), 9–16. *425.*

†Social Reconstruction in India. Lala Lajpat Rai. *Modern Review*, 1920 (Jan.), 8–13; (Feb.), 154–61. *426.*

†The Coming Revolution in Education. J. W. Petavel. *Modern Review*, 1920 (Feb.), 173–7. *427.*

†Educational Policy in Mysore and in Bengal. A Comparison and a Contrast. Radhakamal Mookerjee, M.A., P.R.S. *Modern Review*, 1920 (Mar.), 294–301. *428.*

Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the Indian National Missionary Council. Nov. 13–18, 1919. 101 pp. Calcutta: Office of the National Missionary Council. 1920. *429.*

Contains, *inter alia*, reports of committees on the Indian Church, Christian Education, Christian Literature, Industry and Agriculture, Work among Young People, Temperance, German Missions in South India and reports from the various Representative Councils of Missions; also list of books recommended for new missionaries.

†The Contribution of Christianity to the New India. Godfrey E. Phillips. EW, 1920 (Apr.), 150–64. *430.*

†The Missionary for Modern India. K. T. Paul. *Student Movement*, 1920 (Feb.), 71–3. *432.*

†A Common Script for All India. Bernard Lucas. HF, 1920 (Feb.), 48–58. *433.*

†Work among the Outcastes and the Depressed Classes. P. A. N. Sen. HF, 1920 (Mar.), 86–104. *434.*

†Some Problems of Rural Education in Mass Movement Work. J. Grant. *C.M.S. Mass Movement Quarterly*, 1920 (Apr.), 1–5. *435.*

†Co-operative Banks for Mass Movement Christians. J. Grant. *C.M.S. Mass Movement Quarterly*, 1920 (Jan.), 13–4. *436.*

†Objective of the Association in India, Burma and Ceylon; Religious Work. *Young Men of India*, 1920 (Mar.), 151–69. *437.*

Reports of two Commissions appointed by the Indian Y.M.C.A.

†THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CHOTA NAGPUR. *Young Men of India*, 1920 (Apr.), 203–13. *438*.

See also *393* (Biography); *484* (Christian Literature); *489–91* (Church); *492* (Unity); *501–3* (Religion); *515* (New Situation); *529* (Magazine).

Mohammedan Lands and Work among Moslems

DER TODESGANG DES ARMENISCHEN VOLKES. Bericht über das Schicksal des armenischen Volkes in der Türkei während des Weltkrieges. D. Dr Joh. Lepsius. Potsdam: Tempelverlag. 2 Aufl. 309 S. M. 6. 1919. *439*.

Auf Grund genauster Kenntnis aller zugänglichen Akten berichtet der unermüdliche Freund des Armeniervolkes im ersten Teil die Tatsachen der Deportation in Cilicien und Anatolien, erörtert im zweiten die Schuldfrage, im dritten die wirtschaftlichen Folgen, die Zwangsbekehrungen und das Verhalten der deutschen Presse und zieht dann das Ergebnis. Ein erschütterndes Bild, das weit verbreitet werden sollte.

THE TRAGEDY OF BITLIS. Grace H. Knapp. Illus. 160 pp. New York and London: Fleming H. Revell. $1. 1919. *440*.

Narratives of the flight and experiences of American workers in 1915.

IN HET AANGEZICHT DES DOODS. Het lijden der Armeniers in de laatste Jaren. J. Henzel. 40 blz. Rotterdam: J. M. Bredée. f 0.25. 1920. *441*.

IN BRIGANDS' HANDS AND TURKISH PRISONS, 1914–1918. A. Forder. Illus. 314 pp. London: Marshall. 12s. 6d. net. 1920. *442*.

Mr Forder has close knowledge of the people, having long been a missionary in the regions east of the Jordan and in Sinai. His experiences are vividly told. The book has good illustrations but no index.

†TURKEY IN DISSOLUTION. W. A. Wigram, D.D. *Church Quarterly Review*, 1920 (Jan.), 279–92. *443*.

†THE PASSING OF THE TURKISH HAREM. Barnette Miller. *Asia*, 1920 (Apr.), 302–7. *444*.

FROM PERSIAN UPLANDS. Frederick Hale. 248 pp. London: Constable. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *445*.

Pleasant letters written 'from Persian uplands,' covering the period from August 1913 to March 1919; good for local colour but not containing much material for students.

BLANDT PARIAER. Kn. Lange. 38 S. København: D.M.S. Forlag. Kr. 0.60. 1919. *446*.

See also *467* (Zionism); *504–8* (Religion); *518* (War and Missions); *530* (Magazine).

Africa

(*General*)

EMPIRE AND COMMERCE IN AFRICA: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM. Leonard Woolf. 382 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 20s. net. 1920. *447*.
See review, p. 460.

THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN. E. D. Morel. xii+241 pp. Manchester: National Labour Press. 3s. 6d. net. 1920. *448*.

The purpose of the volume is to portray the wrongs inflicted by the white peoples upon the black and to indicate just and humane principles for the government of Africa. Part I deals with the Slave Trade; Part II with Invasion, Political Control and Capitalistic Exploitation; Part III with Reparation and Reform.

L'AFRIQUE À TRAVERS LES AGES. Alfred Moulin. Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorf. 10f. 1920. *449*.

See also *465* (Jews).

West Africa

(*from the Senegal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan*)

JAUNDE-TESETE. Von Karl Atangana und Paul Messi, herausgegeben und bearbeitet von M. Heepe. Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonial-Instituts Bd. XXIV. 325 S. Hamburg: Friederichsen. Pr. M. 27.50. 1919. *450*.

Experimentalphonetische Untersuchungen über die Tonhöhe im Jaunde Gespräche und Tesete sowie eine Einführung in die Jaundesprache. Nicht nur sprachlich bedeutsam als ein neuer Beweis der praktischen Brauchbarkeit der Methoden und Grundsätze Carl Meinhofs, sondern auch völker, psychologisch durch die in Ursprache und Ubersetzung gegebenen Texte von grösstem Interesse.

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA: BEING A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE NEGRO REPUBLIC. R. C. F. Maugham. Illus. 300 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 18s. net. 1920. *451*.
See review, p. 468.

†EINE REISE NACH WESTAFRIKA ZUR KRIEGSZEIT. Prof. Diedrich Westermann. EMM, 1920 (Mar.), 70–8. *452*.

†SUGGESTIONS FOR A MID-AFRICAN CONFERENCE. A. F. Hensey and Emory Ross. *Congo Mission News*, 1920 (Feb.), 8–10. *453*.

East and Central Africa

(*from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers*)

ZANZIBAR: THE ISLAND METROPOLIS OF EASTERN AFRICA. Major F. B. Pearce, C.M.G. Map. Illus. 443 pp. London: Fisher Unwin. 30s. net. 1920. *454*.

The Peoples of Zanzibar. Godfrey Dale. 124 pp. London: U.M.C.A. 2s. net. 1920. *455.*
An authentic study of the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of Zanzibar—Animist, Moslems, Parsis and Hindus—by an experienced missionary. The short closing chapter deals with 'Points of Agreement and Difference.'

†Unsere Ausstossung aus Deutsch-Ostafrika. K. Axenfeld. *Berl. Miss.-Ber.*, 1920, 49–58. *456.*

See also *387* (Biography); *493* (Church Union); *515* (New Situation).

South Africa

(*south of the Cunene and Zambezi rivers*)

The South African Commonwealth. Manfred Nathan. xii+483 pp. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 30s. 1919. *457.*
This closely printed volume contains a useful record of the system of government in South Africa and the experience gained in the ten years which have elapsed since the Act of Union. Racial problems and social conditions are inadequately discussed.

The Sabi Reserve. A Southern Rhodesia Native Problem. Arthur Shearly Cripps. 56 pp. Oxford: Blackwell. 2s. net. 1920. *458.*
An urgent plea for a revision of the Findings of the Rhodesia Native Reserve Commission. The writer is a well-known Anglican missionary.

†The Native Problem in South Africa: I. A Scheme for Segregation Areas. Sybil Bowker. II. The Reserves Commission in S. Rhodesia. A. S. Cripps. *Contemporary Review*, 1920 (Apr.), 546–56. *459.*

†Die Kaffernmission der Brüdergemeine während des Krieges. Th. Bechler. AMZ, 1920 (Apr.), 105–13. *460.*

Silhouettes Zambéziennes. Madame Victor Ellenberger. Illus. 72 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris. 5 francs. 1920. *461.*
Scenes of African life, charmingly illustrated.

America and the West Indies

Adventures in Alaska. S. Hall Young. Illus. 181 pp. New York and London: Revell. $1.25. *462.*
A truthful delineation of missionary experiences among gold-hunters and Eskimos.

See also *388–9* (Biography).

Oceania

The Napoleon of the Pacific, Kamehameha the Great. Herbert H. Gowen, D.D. Illus. Map. 326 pp. New York and London: Revell. $2. 1919. *463.*
A record of the great ruler of the Hawaiian Islands who died without knowledge of Christianity the year before the first American missionaries arrived, having brought the eight islands of the Archipelago under one government. A timely volume in view of the Centennial of American Missions in Hawai.

See also *390–1* (Biography).

The Jews

The Jews of Asia. Sidney Mendlessohn. xiii+242 pp. London: Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *464.*

The Jews of Africa. Sidney Mendlessohn. xiii+200 pp. London: Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *465.*

The Mission of Israel and its Application to Modern Times. Dr K. Kohler. Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for 1919. 265–305. New York: Bloch Publishing Company. 199. *466.*

†The Prospects of Zionism. D. S. Margoliouth, Litt.D. *Asiatic Review*, 1920 (Apr.), 296–307. *467.*

†Jódespórgsmaalet i ϕjeblikket. Benjamin Balslev. NMT, 1919 (Okt.–Dec.), 161–79. *468.*

Other Fields

Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia. Ella Sykes and Brig.-Gen. Sir Percy Sykes. Illus. xii+304 pp. London: Macmillan. 21s. net. 1920. *469.*
In this beautifully illustrated book on Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs the first part is a pleasant record of nine months' journeyings. The second part contains a valuable historical sketch, with chapters on government, commerce and manners and customs. Allusions to Swedish missionaries are numerous and cordial.

†Unoccupied Fields in Central Asia. John R. Muir. MRW, 1920 (Feb.), 91–101. *470.*

General

World Survey. The Interchurch World Movement of North America. Vol. II. Foreign Volume and a Statistical Mirror. 222 pp. New York: Interchurch Press, 1920. *470a.*
A review is in preparation.

†Rundschau. EMM, 1920 (Feb.), 53–60; (Mar.), 84–8; (Apr.), 114–20. *471.*

The Diagnostics and Treatment of Tropical Diseases. E. P. Stitt, Ph.G., M.D. Illus. Maps. xiii+534 pp. 3rd Edition revised. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co. $2. 1919. *472.*

See also *385* (Anglican Missions); *401* (Social Study); *482* (Industrial); *483* (Medical); *509–11* (Religions); *512* (Expansion of Christendom); *512a* (Missionary Outlook); *513* (Gospel and New World); *515* (New Situation); *519* (Races at Battle-front); *520* (Y.M.C.A.); *523* (Bolshevism).

VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

EVANGELISCHE MISSIONSKUNDE. Julius Richter. Leipzig: Deichert. 463 S. M. 25.– geb. M. 30. 1920. *473.*

Das in der Deichertschen Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher erschienene neuste Werk des Berliner Missions-Professors behandelt im ersten Teil all zu kurz und unbefriedigend die Missionsbegründung, im zweiten, knapp und anregend im Anschluss an den Begriff des Jüngerwerbens die Missionslehre, im dritten unter Beibringung einer Fülle sonst schwer zugänglichen Stoffes die Auseinandersetzung mit den nichtchristlichen Religionen und im vierten in vollständig neu und selbständig gearbeitetem Aufriss die Missionsgeschichte unter sicherer Heraushebung des Wichtigen. So ist sein Buch eine kleine Encyklopädie der Missionswissenshaft.

†MISSION UND TOLERANZ. M. Schlunk. AMZ, 1920 (Apr.), 90–104. *474.*

†THE MISSIONARY ATTITUDE OF THE PHILOSOPHER G. W. VON LEIBNIZ. F. R. Merkel, Lic.Theol., D.Phil. IRM, 1920 (July), 399–410. *475.*

See also *512* (Expansion of Christendom); *517* (Nationality and Missions).

VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

†THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY ON THE MISSION FIELD. Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, Sc.D. IRM, 1920 (July), 426–38. *476.*

A PROBLEM IN MISSIONARY PREPARATION. Florence Mackenzie. IRM, 1920 (July), 439–443. *477.*

See also *395* (Vocation); *417* (Chinese Opinion); *432* (Qualifications for India); *472* (Tropical Diseases); *501* (Approach to Hindus).

VIII. Missionary Methods

Evangelistic

†OVER GOEROE-DJEMAAT (Gemeente-helpers). A. Hueting. MNZG, 1920 (LXIV¹), 39–59. *478.*

See also *434–5* (Outcastes).

Christian Education

China

†WHAT CAN THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS DO TO HELP IN SOLVING THE HEALTH PROBLEMS OF CHINA? E. H. Munson, Ph.B. *Educational Review* (China), 1920 (Jan.), 6–12. *479.*

†THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH TO CHINESE Students. Douglas M. Beers. *Educational Review* (China), 1920 (Jan.), 23–34. *480.*

†THE SUNDAY PROGRAM FOR MIDDLE SCHOOLS. Donald W. Richardson. CR, 1920 (Feb.), 83–90. *481.*

See also *412* (Popular Movement); *417* (Chinese View).

India

See *427–8* (Government Policy); *429* (Report N.M. Council); *433* (Common Script); *435* (Rural Education); *529* (Magazine).

Industrial Missions

THE GOSPEL OF INDUSTRY: A SURVEY OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING ON BAPTIST MISSION FIELDS. William B. Lipphard. Illus. 68 pp. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 20 cents. 1918. *482.*

An excellent booklet.

See also *429* (Report N.M. Council).

Medical Missions

CONSCRIPTS OF CONSCIENCE. A PLEA FOR MEDICAL MISSIONS. Caroline Atwater Mason. 156 pp. New York: Fleming H. Revell. $1.00. 1919. *483.*

See also *472* (Tropical Diseases); *479* (Health Problems, China).

Christian Literature

†CLASSIFIED LIST OF BOOKS IN THE URDU LANGUAGE SUITED TO MOSLEM READERS. E. M. Wherry. CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR CHINESE MOSLEMS. Isaac Mason. MW, 1920 (Apr.), 157–67. *484.*

See also *429* (Report N.M. Council); *433* (Common Script, India).

General

MISSIONARY SURVEY AS AN AID TO INTELLIGENT CO-OPERATION IN FOREIGN MISSIONS. Roland Allen and Thomas Cochrane. xxii + 184 pp. London: Longmans. 6s. net. 1920. *485.*

See review, p. 462.

†THE RELATION BETWEEN MEDICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND EVANGELISTIC WORK IN FOREIGN MISSIONS. Roland Allen. CMR, 1920 (Mar.), 54–62. *486.*

†The Need for a Changed Approach to the People in our Missionary Enterprise. A. R. Kepler. CR, 1920 (Jan.), 21–31. *487.*

See also *437* (Y.M.C.A.); *470a* (Interchurch World Survey).

IX. The Church in the Mission Field

†Chinese Leadership in the Christian Church. W. McCarthy. IRM, 1920 (July), 384–98. *488.*

†The Indian Church. A Report presented to the National Missionary Council of India. HF, 1920 (Feb.), 60–8. *489.*

†The Development of the Church in India. T. Bomford. CMR, 1920 (Mar.), 8–20. *490.*

†The Syrian Church and Church Union. K. K. Kuruvilla. *Christian Patriot,* 1920 (Mar. 27), 5–6. *491.*

See also *385* (Anglican Missions); *406* (Japan); *429* (Report Indian Church); *438* (Lutheran Church, Chota Nagpur); *492–3* (Unity).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

†The Unity of the Church. The Bishop of Bombay. *Constructive Quarterly,* 1919 (Dec.), 588–616. *492.*

†Recognition, Authorization and Reunion. The Bishop of Uganda. EW, 1920 (Apr.), 118–35. *493.*

See also *396* (Netherlands); *429* (Indian National Council); *485* (Missionary Survey); *491* (Church Union, India).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

Psychology and Folk-lore. R. R. Marett. London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. net. *494.*
A review is in preparation.

Animism, or Thought Currents of Primitive Peoples. George William Gilmore. xiv + 250 pp. Boston: Marshall Jones. $1.50. 1919. *495.*
A discussion based upon wide reading of recent authorities.

De Mensch in de Werkelijkheid. Zijne Kenleer in den heidenschen godsdienst. Dr A. W. Nieuwenhuis. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 36 blz. 1920. *496.*

†Gebruiken bij de naamgeving op Talaoet. H. J. Stokking. MNZG, 1920 (LXIV 1), 70–74. *497.*

See also *455* (Religions in Zanzibar); *476* (Anthropology).

Religions of Japan and Korea

†The Wang Yang-ming School in Japan. P. G. Kawai. CR, 1920 (Feb.), 99–106. *498.*
A study, by a Christian Japanese professor, of the teachings of the Chinese soldier-philosopher (A.D. 1472–1529) who has powerfully influenced Japan as well as modern China.

†Emperor Worship in Japan. Albertus Pieters. IRM, 1920 (July), 340–56. *499.*

Religions of China

†Further Observations on the Confucian God-Idea. William S. A. Pott. CR, 1919 (Dec.), 825–33. *500.*

Religions of India

The Approach to the Gospel. J. S. M. Hooper, M.A. 47 pp. London: Student Christian Movement. 1s. 1920. *501.*
A strong pamphlet containing suggestions for the presentation of Christ to Hindus. The apologetic line will be of value to all missionaries. The writer, who is a member of the Wesleyan Mission in Madras, gave these lectures to a conference of Indian missionaries.

†Saints and Philosophers of the Tamil Caivas. J. E. Carpenter. *Hibbert Journal,* 1920 (Apr.), 470–85. *502.*

The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Parcvanātha. Maurice Bloomfield. xii + 254 pp. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. $3. 1919. *503.*
The author is one of the foremost Sanskrit professors in America.

See also *430* (Contribution of Christianity); *476* (Anthropology).

Buddhism

See *408* (Korean Legend).

Islam

†Islam—its Worth and its Failure. S. M. Zwemer, LL.D. MW, 1920 (Apr.), 144–56. *504.*

†The Use of the Terms 'Allah' and 'Rab' in the Koran. R. D. Wilson. MW, 1920 (Apr.), 176–83. *505.*

†The Paraclete or Mohammed. L. Bevan Jones. MW, 1920 (Apr.), 112–25. *506.*

†Important Articles of the Moslem Doctrine. CR, 1920 (Feb.), 107–18. *507.*
A digest of a Mohammedan publication.

See also *518* (Effect of War).

Other Religions

Devil Worship. The Sacred Books and Traditions of the Yezidiz. Isya Joseph,

Ph.D. Illus. 222 pp. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $2.30. 1919. *508.*
A translation of an Arabic manuscript brought from Mosul, with notes.

General

Religioner i Missionslandene og dises Forhold til Kristendommen. Fire Foredrag af Rosenlund, Baagóe. K. Lange og Agnes Clausen. 80 S. Kóbenhavn: D.M.S. Forlag. Kr. 2. 1919. *509.*

†Religionsgeschichtliche Rundschau. J. Warneck. AMZ, 1920 (Feb.), 38–48; (Mar.), 70–3. *510.*

An Introduction to Anthropology. A General Survey of the Early History of the Human Race. E. O. James. ix+259 pp. London: Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net. 1919. *511.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

West and East: The Expansion of Christendom and the Naturalization of Christianity in the Orient in the Nineteenth Century. Edward Caldwell Moore, D.D. xii+421 pp. London: Duckworth. 12s. 6d. net. 1920. *512.*
See review, p. 444.

The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War. Report of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. xx+330 pp. New York: Association Press. 1920. *512a.*
A review is in preparation.

The Gospel and the New World. Robert E. Speer. 313 pp. New York and London: Revell. $2. 1919. *513.*
Contains thought-provoking chapters on the interpretation of Christian principles, the world's debt to the missionary, the impact of the West on the East and the building of the Church.

A Better World. Tyler Dennett. vii+173 pp. New York: George H. Doran. 1920. *514.*
A review is in preparation.

†Missions and the New Situation in Asia. Edwyn Bevan. IRM, 1920 (July), 321–39. *515.*

†Foreign Missions and the League of Nations. G. F. Barbour, D.Phil. IRM, 1920 (July), 357–71. *516.*

†Nationality and Missions. J. H. Oldham. IRM, 1920 (July), 372–83. *517.*

†Hat der Weltkrieg die Stellung des Islam zum Christentum günstig oder ungünstig beeinflüsst? J. Enderlin. EMM, 1920 (Apr.), 101–14. *518.*

In the Whirlpool of the Races. Illus. 102 pp. London: L.M.S. 1s. 6d. 1920. *519.*
Papers recording experiences of missionaries at the battle fronts. Prologue on 'The Inter-racial Situation' by Basil Mathews.

The Red Triangle and the Changing Nations. Y.M.C.A. Secretaries and John Kelman. v+125 pp. New York: Association Press. 75 cents. 1918. *520.*
Comprehensive statements as to missionary opportunities in Japan, China, India, the Philippines and South America.

The Oriental Policy of the United States. Henry Chung. Maps. 306 pp. New York and London: Revell. $2. 1919. *521.*
By a Korean who was Fellow in Economics at Northwestern University. Designed to reveal to America the political purpose of Japan.

†The Foreign Policy of the United States and Foreign Missions. Sidney L. Gulick. CR, 1920 (Jan.), 32–9. *522.*

†Bolshevism in Asia. Paul S. Reinsch. *Asia*, 1920 (Apr.), 310–5. *523.*

†Regeering en Zending. M. Lindenborn. *Stemmen des Tijds* (IX^2). 23 blz. 1920. *524.*

†Uit de Javaansch-Maleische pers. Godsdienst en Maatschappelijke toestanden: Onderwijs: Vrouwenbeweging. MNZG, 1920 (LXIV^1), 60–9. *525.*

†Kirkeligt Verdensforbund og Missionen. V. Ammundsen. NMT, 1919 (Okt.–Dec.), 193–9. *526.*

See also *405* (Modern Japan); *415*, *429* (German Missions); *422–6* (Situation in India); *430* (Christianity and New India); *436* (Co-operative Banks); *439–41* (Armenians); *447–8*, *458–9* (African Problems).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

†Erlösung und Mission. R. Friedli. EMM, 1920 (Apr.), 89–96. *527.*

Danmarks Verdensmission. Anne Marie Petersen. 69 S. Kóbenhavn: Lohses Forlag. Kr. 1.25. 1919. *528.*

XIV. New Missionary Magazines

Religious Education in India. Edited by G. A. Annett and H. R. Hamley. No. 1. Jan. 1920. Bombay: Guardian Press, Girgaum. Ann. sub. R.1, single copy 4 as. *529.*
A quarterly journal devoted to the interests of religious education and child psychology in India, issued under the auspices of the World's Sunday School Association.

The Christian East. Edited by W. J. Sparrow Simpson. 56 pp. No. 1, Mar.

1920. London: S.P.C.K. Ann. sub. 6s., single copy 1s. 6d. *530.*

A quarterly review devoted primarily to the study of the Eastern Churches. In view of the close intertwining of these Churches with the Moslem population all that concerns their welfare is of interest to the student of missions.

XV. Missionary Education Publications

Talks on a Chinese City. F. D. Walker. 32 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1s. net. 1920. *531.*

Lessons for children of 10–13 on the China of yesterday and to-day. Suggestions for model-making and other handwork.

Stories of Adventure in China. Dorothy F. Wilson. Illus. 64 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1s. net. 1920. *532.*

The first of a new series of 'Story Lessons' for children of 8–11. Six stories of heroism in China, with full notes for the teacher.

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ =*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR =*Church Missionary Review*
CR =*Chinese Recorder*
EM =*Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM =*Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW =*The East and The West*
HF =*Harvest Field*
IRM =*International Review of Missions*
JE =*Japan Evangelist*
JRD =*Journal of Race Development*
MNZG =*Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*
MRW =*Missionary Review of the World*
MW =*Moslem World*
NMT =*Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT =*Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM =*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR =*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB LTD., EDINBURGH

THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW OF MISSIONS

A NEW BEGINNING OF INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION

By J. H. OLDHAM

The international co-operation and fellowship which sprang from the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 were rudely interrupted by the war. It was not merely that British and French, and, later, American, missionary circles were separated from their Christian brethren in Germany, but the increasing difficulty of communication during the war prevented personal intercourse and practical co-operation even between the missionary societies of allied and neutral countries. Within a year, however, of the signing of the Treaty of Peace, a representative international conference met to consider the missionary situation after the war and the means of dealing with it through international counsel and co-operation.

The gathering, which was held at Crans near Geneva from June 22 to 28, was not a meeting of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference. Nor was it a meeting of the Emergency Committee of Co-operating Missions, which had been formed during the

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When articles in the Review are an expression of the policy or views of the Continuation Committee, or of the conclusions reached by any of its Special Committees, this fact will be made clear. In all other instances the writer of the paper is alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

war to deal temporarily with urgent missionary matters in which the missionary societies of the allied and some neutral countries were jointly interested. It was a conference called at the request of the national missionary organizations in the different countries. This term is used to describe interdenominational conferences or committees like the Foreign Missions Conference of North America with its Committee of Reference and Counsel, and the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. It should be noted, however, that the Foreign Missions Conference of North America is international, including the mission boards of the United States and of Canada.

The representative character of the Conference can be judged from the names of those who attended it. A list of names makes dull reading, but it is the simplest means of showing the character of the Conference, and those who wish may skip these paragraphs.

The Committee of Reference and Counsel of North America sent ten representatives. Unfortunately the date of the Conference made it impossible for some of the most influential representatives of the mission boards of the United States to be present. Those representing the Committee of Reference and Counsel were Dr John R. Mott; the Rev. Charles R. Watson, D.D., President of the American University at Cairo, whose knowledge of the problems and practice of missionary co-operation is unsurpassed; the Rev. L. B. Wolf, D.D., of the United Lutheran Church; the Rev. W. R. Strong, D.D., of the American Board; the Rev. Stephen J. Corey, LL.D., of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society; Mr Galen Fisher, secretary for Japan of the Young Men's Christian Association; Mr Fennell P. Turner, secretary of the Committee of Reference and Counsel; and three representatives of Canada—the Rev. Principal Gandier of Knox College, Toronto, Chairman of the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church; the Rev. James Endicott, D.D., secretary of the Mission Board of the Methodist

Episcopal Church; and Canon Gould, secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.

The Standing Committee in Great Britain was represented by the secretaries of nine leading missionary societies —Bishop King (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel); the Rev. C. C. B. Bardsley (Church Missionary Society); the Rev. W. Goudie (Wesleyan Missionary Society); the Rev. Frank Lenwood (London Missionary Society); the Rev. C. E. Wilson (Baptist Missionary Society); the Rev. J. H. Ritson, D.D. (British and Foreign Bible Society); Dr Henry Hodgkin (Friends' Foreign Missionary Association); the Rev. Frank Ashcroft (United Free Church of Scotland); and Mr Kenneth Maclennan, secretary of the Standing Committee. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, who had been nominated, and had expected to go, was unfortunately prevented by an attack of influenza.

The Paris Missionary Society sent M. Daniel Couve and M. Allégret, in the strength of their contribution a host in themselves. The missionary interests of Switzerland were represented by M. Grandjean and Missionsinspektor Oettli; of Holland, by Dr J. W. Gunning; of Belgium, by Pastor Anet; of Sweden, by Dr Karl Fries; of Norway, by Pastor Smith; of Denmark, by Professor Törm; and of Finland, by Missionsdirektor Tarkkannen.

The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa had its representative in the Rev. D. S. B. Joubert, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Pretoria. The Australasian missionary societies were unfortunately not represented; efforts were made to secure the presence of the Bishop of Willochra and the Bishop of Gippsland, but neither could accept the invitation.

The German Missions Ausschuss was not represented officially, but four members of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference were present in a personal capacity—Bishop Hennig of the Moravian Church; Professor Hausleiter of Halle; Professor Julius Richter of Berlin; and Missionsinspektor Friedrich Würz.

It was of immense advantage to the Conference to have among its members Bishop Roots, the Chairman of the China Continuation Committee, and Bishop Foss Westcott, Metropolitan of India and Ceylon, and Chairman of the National Missionary Council. Mr J. H. Oldham and Miss G. A. Gollock were present as representing the international missionary organization and the *International Review of Missions*.

It is impossible to write of the Conference without a brief description of the surroundings in which it met. The members of the Conference were the guests of Colonel and Madame van Berchem in their beautiful château of Crans, overlooking the Lake of Geneva. About thirty of the guests had rooms in the château, while the others slept in a hotel at Nyon, three miles away, and were brought by motor car to the château each morning, returning in the same way to their hotel at night. The weather throughout was perfect. The views of the lake and of the mountains beyond, including Mont Blanc seen in the distance when the atmosphere was sufficiently clear, with their changing aspects and colours were an unfailing source of delight. The lovely grounds afforded pleasant walks and opportunities of quiet intercourse. Bathing in the lake was a regular feature of each day's proceedings. But more even than the loveliness of the outward surroundings, the hospitable and kindly spirit of the household under whose roof the Conference met helped to create an atmosphere which had from the first a sensible influence on its proceedings. Colonel and Madame van Berchem had given to the missionary cause one of their daughters, who after two years of married life as Madame Renée de Benoit in India had succumbed to an illness contracted on the voyage home. Their whole heart was in the Conference. They gave it their prayers. They thought of everything which might in any way contribute to the comfort of their guests and further the ends for which the Conference had met.

Bishop Roots was chosen to be Chairman of the Conference. He brought to the task the breadth of outlook and the clear insight which he had gained from immediate contact with what is perhaps the greatest missionary opportunity in the world to-day. The ability, courtesy and self effacement with which he presided over its deliberations were a contribution of the highest value to the Conference. Dr Mott was chairman of the Business Committee. Mr Oldham was the secretary of the Conference and Dr Karl Fries and Mr Galen Fisher the recording secretaries.

The present position of German missions, to which fuller reference will be made later, was not, important though it is, the sole nor even the main business of the Conference. Even if this question had not existed there was urgent need for the Conference to meet. The whole missionary situation at the end of the war called for review. The establishment of the League of Nations has important consequences for Christian missions. The terms of the Mandates will establish precedents in matters that closely affect missionary work. The British Government has brought into effect a new policy which, while it may have been necessary and may in its practical working prove to be a satisfactory solution of the relations between missions and governments, involves a new regulation and control of missionary effort and imposes for the present trying restrictions on the missionaries of countries which were neutral during the war. In Korea an ordinance issued in 1915 introduced new regulations and restrictions in regard to religious propaganda. In Nigeria and in Madagascar Christian missions find themselves confronted with serious obstacles. The Swedish mission in Eritrea is threatened with expulsion by the Italian Government. In India a far-reaching measure of reform has transferred a large part of the functions of government to the control of popularly elected legislatures. The transferred subjects include those which touch most closely missionary work—education, medical administration, sanitation, agriculture and local government. In China the question of religious toleration has arisen in an acute form during the period of the war. An article by the Rev. Albertus Pieters published in the last issue of the Review shows the influence in Japan of ideas inconsistent with religious liberty. Neither in the West nor in the East has the principle of religious toleration gained complete acceptance or an assured position.

In facing the new situation missions have need to take counsel together how in the changing conditions they may secure the freedom of opportunity which is a vital interest of their work, and how they may successfully urge upon governments their reasonable claims. In doing this it is necessary for them to try to understand the standpoints of governments. They cannot, if they are to succeed, shut their eyes to the existence in the world of political and economic rivalries, and the suspicions and fears which these engender. Nor can they be indifferent to the disintegrating effect of Christian teaching, as of western civilization generally, on existing social fabrics, and the natural concern of governments in regard to these effects. They must aim also at a sympathetic understanding of the constructive tasks of government with a view to co-operating in these tasks as far as may be consistent with their own proper and distinctive aims. These and kindred aspects of the subjects engaged the close attention of the Conference.

In the sphere of education especially Christian missions find themselves in the presence of far-reaching change. Throughout the whole mission field there are indications that the state is disposed to assume increased responsibility for education with the inevitable result of increased regulation and control. In a large part of Asia and throughout the continent of Africa Christian missions have been pioneers in education. They have had in the past a predominant share in it and in some places a monopoly. But now the state is almost everywhere beginning to enter the field and to extend its control. We find ourselves in the presence of an historic process which must alter fundamentally the position and influence of Christian schools.

In many parts of the mission field the contribution to education which Christian schools can make is so important that their aid is not likely to be dispensed with for many years to come. But it is necessary to have clearly in view the end to which things are working. It is impossible for private effort to compete with the vast resources derived from taxation which the state can command. And as private effort becomes a factor of decreasing importance the state is in danger of showing it less and less consideration.

What should be the policy of the missionary societies in this new situation ? Shall they consent to be gradually eliminated ? Shall they voluntarily withdraw and seek other methods of realizing their aims, or shall they set themselves to discover whether they have a contribution to make in the changed conditions, and if so, how they may make it ? In the whole history of missions they have hardly ever had to face a more searching question.

The Conference recommended that immediate steps be taken for a study of the whole subject in international co-operation.

Another subject to which the Conference gave attention was the relations of missions to political questions. There was complete agreement that the missionary should have nothing to do with political agitation in the ordinary sense. It was recognized, however, that the line between political and moral issues is not easily drawn, and that Christians cannot refuse the responsibility of attempting to apply the Christian ethic to the whole of life. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America has found itself brought up against the question of oriental immigration into the United States and the difficulties to which this has given rise between that country and Japan, and has found it necessary to consider what steps may be taken to remove the causes of friction and the resultant hindrances to the cause of Christianity in the Far East. The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain, meeting just before the international conference at Crans, unanimously addressed a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of labour conditions in East Africa. Mr Edwyn Bevan, in an article published in the last issue of the Review, drew attention to the problems arising for missionaries in India in regard to their attitude towards the nationalist movements. The political situation in Korea and the political relations between China and Japan have in the last year or two created many perplexing problems for missionaries in these three countries. The Conference recognized how urgently such questions call for common counsel and how seriously the unwise action of an individual missionary or an individual mission may prejudice missionary work as a whole. It recommended that provision should be made for the careful study of such questions, in order that in the light of clearly ascertained facts and carefullyconsidered principles Christian public opinion in all countries might be united in support of international justice and inter-racial goodwill.

Other subjects recognized as calling for international consultation and co-operation, but not discussed at the conference owing to lack of time, were the provision of an adequate Christian literature for all mission fields and the relation of the missionary movement to the rise of industrialism in Asia and Africa and to the social problems to which this must inevitably give rise.

While, as might have been expected from the variety of experience represented at the Conference, much light was shed on the subjects discussed, the Conference saw clearly that it was impossible in the few days of meeting at Crans to make any large progress towards the solution of these big and intricate questions. It was plain, therefore, that the most important task to which the Conference could address itself was that of making the right kind of provision for their continued study in years to come. The attention of the Conference was thus directed to the question of the kind of international organization which would best enable the missionary societies in all countries to take common counsel and, where necessary, common action in regard to these matters which so closely affect their work.

Among the duties assigned to the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference was 'to confer with the societies and boards as to the best method of working towards the formation of a permanent international missionary committee.' After the lapse of ten years and the interruption of the war, the task to which the Conference at Edinburgh pointed was definitely taken in hand. The Conference at Crans with much care drew up a plan for an international missionary organization and unanimously agreed to submit it to the national missionary organizations in the different countries. Until the bodies to which the plan has been referred have had an opportunity of considering it, the details cannot be rightly discussed here. Attention may, however, be directed to one central point on which the Conference had to make up its mind.

The Continuation Committee appointed by the World Missionary Conference was intended to function as an international body and one of its first acts was to bring into existence a number of international committees, dealing with special subjects, such as Christian education, Christian literature and medical missions. At the time, no other plan was feasible. When the World Missionary Conference met, the only national conferences or committees for interdenominational co-operation were the Foreign Missions Conference in North America and the Missions Ausschuss in Germany. In other countries there were no national interdenominational organizations which could form the basis of co-operation. Since 1910, however, the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland has been brought into existence and interdenominational committees have also been formed in Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Holland.

The question therefore arose whether an international missionary committee should be formed which would function as an international body independent of the national missionary organizations, or whether questions of missionary co-operation should be left to be dealt with in the main by the national missionary conferences and committees in the different countries, and only so much of international missionary organization be provided as might be required to keep the national missionary organizations in touch with one another and enable them to maintain the international outlook in their activities. The objections to the former course were that, owing to the difficulty and expense of meeting, an international committee must work slowly and be subject frequently to annoying delay, and that it would appear to be almost impossible in practice to define so clearly the spheres of the international and of the national organizations as to prevent overlapping and confusion. The Conference, therefore, unanimously favoured the second alternative and drew up a plan which assumes that interdenominational co-operation will be left as far as possible to the national missionary organizations, while an international meeting annually or every two years will provide for the interchange of ideas and the co-relation of activities and in the intervals between these meetings the national missionary organizations will be kept in touch with one another by the officers of the international missionary committee. The danger in this plan is that international relations may not receive sufficient emphasis. But while this danger and the necessity of guarding against it were recognized, it was thought that regular international meetings and the appointment of officers of the international committee will in the beginning sufficiently ensure that the international aspects of missionary co-operation are kept to the front and that, given this provision, the international idea, in so far as it has real life, can be trusted to grow and gradually to evolve the organization needed for its adequate expression.

While it seemed best to keep the international missionary organization within as modest limits as might be compatible with the effective discharge of its functions, the Conference was unanimous in holding some form of international missionary organization to be essential. The discussion of the important subjects to which reference has already been made showed that a true and just view can in many instances be reached only when they are considered from an international standpoint. Moreover, for a solution of these questions, the help is needed of the most clear sighted and best equipped minds, and these are to be found not in one country but in many. It was plain also that isolated action by individual missions may often prejudice the whole missionary movement, while in many important matters concerted action is needed in order that the weight of Christian influence may be brought fully to bear. If the peoples of the world are drawing together in a League of Nations, Christian missions must come together to take counsel about their common tasks.

It remains to add a few words about one other important subject which received careful consideration by the Conference—the present position of German missions. The subject was one which it was difficult to discuss without touching on burning questions connected with the war. The difficulties were frankly recognized. No attempt was made to ignore them or to pretend that they did not exist. But the Conference resolved to leave these questions on one side. It was recognized that some day they must be dealt with, but the time had not yet come. The wounds caused by the war on both sides were still open and raw. The experiences of the past and present were still too tense and vivid to make discussion possible in a comparatively large meeting. These questions could be spoken of in private conversation, and from this there came much gain. But in the Conference itself it seemed best to avoid the past and to concentrate attention on the facts of the present situation and on the problems that had to be solved. The Conference was entirely free from false sentiment. There was no attempt to pretend that facts or feelings were other than they are. But in trying to look honestly at the facts of the missionary situation and to consider together the interests of Christ's Kingdom, the members of the Conference were brought into a real and living fellowship with one another, and were conscious of a unity in Christ which transcended even the deep differences caused by the war.

As an international body, the Conference had no authority to take any action or make any pronouncement in regard to the position of German missions. At the same time, it provided a unique opportunity for the consideration of the situation to which the war has given rise. For the first time representatives of the missionary societies in allied and neutral countries which are for the present undertaking the care of German missionary work were able to learn in conference the mind of those who had hitherto carried on the work, and to consider both with them and with one another how urgent needs may best be met. The Conference prepared a statement of the most important points brought out in the discussions to be submitted to the national missionary organizations in the different countries, in order that these may take such action as in the circumstances may seem right.

The study in detail of conditions in different parts of the mission field, which was undertaken with great thoroughness, revealed the complexity of the whole situation and the great variety of conditions, each of which needs to be considered separately both from the standpoint of governments and that of the missions. It was plain to the Conference that there is no simple and general way of dealing with the problem.

It appeared to the Conference very desirable and important that the missionary societies which have for the present undertaken the care or are considering the undertaking of the care of the former German missions, should put themselves in direct touch with the German missionary societies formerly responsible for the work, with a view to a frank discussion of the whole situation and to learning their views. Great importance was also attached to the conservation as far as possible of the denominational character of each mission. The Conference was much impressed by the excellent example set in these two respects by several societies and in particular by the Paris Missionary Society, which has assumed responsibility for the work formerly carried on by the Basel Mission in the Cameroons. It was stated by Missionsinspektor Oettli of the Basel Missionary Society that the courtesy and consideration shown by the Paris Missionary Society had resulted, notwithstanding all the difficulties of the situation, in deepening and increasing the sympathy and mutual confidence between the two societies.

The Conference was deeply impressed with the seriousness of any restrictions which would limit the full expression of the spiritual life and energy of the Christians in Germany and of the grave loss which would thereby result, both to the Church of Christ in Germany and to the world. While recognizing that the national missionary organizations alone could determine when and how steps might be taken towards the removal of existing restrictions, the Conference invited their attention to this extremely important aspect of the question.

Several particular points mentioned by the German representatives were referred for consideration to the national missionary organization concerned.

The discussion of the general question of the relations between missions and governments had brought out clearly that the removal of restrictions imposed by governments depends very largely on securing the confidence of the governments, and that much help may be rendered to missions of alien nationality by missionaries who are subjects of the governing power. The Paris Society, for example, has been able to render many services to Anglo-Saxon missions working in French territory ; while Anglo-Saxon missions have on their side to do all in their power to win the confidence of the French authorities. In the light of this and other similar experiences it was recognized that the endeavour to secure the removal of restrictions on the return of German missionaries was not only a matter calling for consideration by the missionary societies in the allied countries, but also one in which German missions and missionaries must co-operate by seeking to understand the difficulties of the governments and the standpoint of their fellow missionaries of other nationalities. The Conference therefore suggested to the national missionary organizations that in preparation for the return of German missionaries, and in particular where there appears to be a prospect of an early return, opportunities should be provided for mutual intercourse between German missions and those of allied nations, for the purpose of arriving at mutual understanding and of enabling German missions to resume their work with the largest hope of success.

There were other things beyond those which have been mentioned that will make the meeting memorable to those who were present. The experience of Christ's presence as the source and secret of the unforgettable fellowship of the days at Crans and of His touch on all that was done, the seeing of fresh light on the path, the sense of great things waiting in the future, the consciousness of an open door, the call of God to be of good courage and go forward—these things cannot be put on paper but will be an abiding influence in the lives of those privileged to attend the Conference.

J. H. OLDHAM

The Notes on 'The Missionary Situation after the War,' prepared for the use of members of the Conference at Crans, have been published in a 64-page pamphlet, in coloured wrapper, and can be obtained from the office of this Review (price 1s. net; post free, 1s. 1d.) or from 25 Madison Avenue, New York, U.S.A. (price 30 cents).

VILLAGE EDUCATION IN INDIA

By Sir MICHAEL E. SADLER, K.C.S.I.

Last year the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, in co-operation with the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, appointed a small Commission to inquire into the problems of village education in India. With great dispatch the commissioners have completed their report.[1] Admirably for its purpose has their work been done. The report is opportune, practised and concise. It does not attempt to describe the educational undertakings of the various Christian missions in India. It contains no summaries of the evidence given by individual witnesses. The writers are content to describe their report as 'an introduction to a more detailed and thorough study of the question.' But the sixteen chapters into which the observations and conclusions of the commissioners are compressed epitomize the results of an extensive inquiry made by trained and experienced investigators. The reader feels the presence of a great body of details lying behind the brief statements of the report. More than this, he is aware that there has been no unfair selection of the facts from which the conclusions are deduced. He has no uneasy sense that pertinent considerations are being withheld from him. The commissioners have seized the significant lines of an intricate and confusing problem. They have fixed those lines on paper with precision and masterly skill. Not only the missionary societies of the United Kingdom and of North America but the Government of India and the Indian provincial administrations will find guidance in the report, because it conveys new and fruitful ideas. The thanks of all who have the welfare of India at heart are due to the five members of the Commission—the Rev. A. G. Fraser (chairman), Miss M. M. Allan, Dr D. J. Fleming, the Rev. J. H. Maclean and Mr K. T. Paul. And not to them only but also to those who helped them in their inquiries and deliberations. Among these should be named Mr Srinavasa Sastri, Mr H. Sharp, Miss K. M. Bose, Dr Arthur Lankester and Dr S. K. Datta, as well as Professor S. K. Roy and Mr J. P. Cotelingam, who were the representatives of the All-India Christian Conferference, and Messrs Mason Olcott and S. C. L. Nasir, who assisted in the secretarial work.

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[1] *Village Education in India* (London & New York: Oxford University Press). See Bibliography, No. 640.

The method which the commissioners followed in approaching their problem is in itself illuminating. By a wise arrangement they spent four months in the United States, Japan, the Philippines and Ceylon on their way to India. The value of their report is enhanced by the use which they made of the educational experience gained during recent years in those countries and in China. Some of their most important proposals are suggested by administrative arrangements which have proved successful elsewhere. And, though the commissioners make allowance for the salient differences which distinguish India from other lands, they find no difficulty in showing that Indian educational reformers may gain much from the study of what has been done in parts of the Far East and of the United States. In India itself, district differs from district in the opportunities offered for the development of primary education. But there is a massive unity in the problem regarded as a whole. This unity dominates the report of the commissioners. They remind us that, though provincial and local differences must always be borne in view, all India is concerned in finding remedies for the prevailing illiteracy, which is one expression of the backwardness of a large part of its inhabitants and a heavy drag upon their spiritual and economic development.

Helped by their previous knowledge of Indian conditions and by the expert advice which they were able to command, the commissioners found it possible to focus their impressions and to shape their judgment in the course of five months of travel through different parts of India. They visited the Punjab, the United Provinces, Chota Nagpur, Bengal, Assam, the Central Provinces, Baroda, Bombay Presidency, Hyderabad State and Madras Presidency. Their terms of reference concentrated their thoughts upon the educational needs of the villages. With the problem of providing elementary education in the large towns they were not immediately concerned. But they point out that the villages are the source from which the great industrial centres of India draw an increasing supply of labour. The towns have an interest in the village schools : the village schools must keep in view the requirements of those of their pupils who in time will migrate to the towns in search of employment. On this and on all other points the commissioners never allow themselves to regard education as a thing apart from the social traditions and economic surroundings of the families and communities from which the pupils are drawn. Adults have to be thought of as well as children. Caste and other social distinctions must be borne in mind. The position of women affects the educational welfare and prospects of the girls, and restricts very seriously the supply of women teachers. Education is but one aspect of the life of the people. Nothing is more misleading than to deal with it as though it could be separated from the other facets of the social problem. Except in certain matters of *technique* it is not a question by itself but one element in a complex of questions. Indian education must spring from the inner necessities of Indian life.

Approaching their subject from this point of view, the commissioners could not but disclose to the reader their attitude towards the hopes of Indian nationalism. With all the finer aspirations of that movement they reveal their sympathetic agreement. They want India to enjoy larger responsibilities of self-government and to learn by experience how to discharge them. They urge that Indians should be encouraged to take a heavier part of the burden of administration and of financial responsibility. They welcome closer co-operation between Indians and Europeans in the government and supervision of church and school. They plead for unity, because in unity is strength; and for patience, because through patience alone can Indians and Europeans alike achieve the solution of the difficulties which call for Indian patriotism and for western help.

Thus the report takes its place among the documents which record and define a new outlook upon the future of India. It is a significant and valuable contribution to policy and to mutual understanding.

II

To an Indian proud of the traditions of his race and eager for the advancement of his country few things are more galling than the backward state of elementary education among the masses of his fellow-citizens. He deplores their ignorance, their inertia, their subservience to debt, their superstitions, their degrading customs, their low standard of life. He is mortified by the contrast which the illiteracy of India presents to the advancement of other populations with which he desires his own people to stand on equal terms.

At the end of the official year 1918–19 the population of British India (including Burma) was estimated at 244 millions. The number of pupils in the elementary stages of instruction (whether in primary or in secondary schools and in private elementary schools teaching in the vernacular) was 6,800,000. In other words, only 2·7 per cent of the whole population was receiving elementary instruction in schools. Of the male population, the percentage receiving elementary instruction was 4·4; of the female population, only 1. Taking public primary schools alone, the total number of pupils was 5,927,000. The number of those pupils who had passed beyond the lower primary stage and were still in the upper primary stage was small, viz. in schools for boys, 343,000, and in schools for girls only, 23,600.[1] Only an insignificant fraction of the masses of the Indian population receive any school training. And only a few of those who actually go to school advance beyond beggarly instruction in the barest elements of knowledge.

As a proof of literacy, the enumerators of the Indian Census are instructed to require ability to read an ordinary letter and to reply to it. In the Census of 1911, the percentage of literacy among Indian Christians was 16·3. Three other religious communities show a better record—the Parsees 71·1 per cent, the Jains 27·5 per cent, and the Buddhists 22·9 per cent. But the Christians far surpass the Sikhs (6·7 per cent), the Hindus (5·5 per cent), the Mussalmans (3·8 per cent) and the animistic tribes (0·6 per cent). And in the education of girls the Christians come next to the Parsees, who stand at the head of the list as regards the literacy both of men and women in their community. Where the Christian community has been established for a generation or more, the standard of literacy rose between 1901 and 1911. But in areas where mass movements towards Christianity have brought multitudes of the illiterate population into the Christian community during the last decade, the percentage of literacy has declined. For example, in the United Provinces, though the Christian population increased from 0·22 per cent of the population to 0·38 during the years 1901–11, the percentage of literacy among the Indian Christians fell in the case of males from 48·1 per cent to 34·6 and in the case of females from 31·8 per cent to 23·2. The commissioners record a similar decline in the Punjab and express their belief that since 1911 the decline in literacy among Indian Christians in the mass movement areas has been even more pronounced.

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[1] These figures are based upon the statistics given in *Indian Education in 1918–19* (Bureau of Education, India, 1920).

It is true that literacy is not the only test of intelligence. Some who cannot write have nevertheless shrewd powers of judgment. An illiterate man or woman may be capable of service to the Church by reason of an upright character and of spiritual experience. But education, given under influences which impart high principle, is a very powerful help towards economic independence and moral freedom. The illiterate labourer is at the mercy of his employer. His ignorance exposes him to blackmail. If he cannot read a document which he is asked to sign, he may find too late that he has sacrificed property or rights. If he cannot count, he is exposed to the dishonesty of unscrupulous men who deceive him as to the amount of his debts.

Rural India is calamitously under-educated. And India is a land of villages. In her 700,000 villages, each with an average population of about 360, there is a very serious shortage of primary schools. Of the 150,000 primary schools for boys and girls in all British India including Burma, a large proportion are in the cities and populous towns. The Director of Public Education in Bengal recently described the situation in words which apply to India as a whole. 'The number of primary schools is inadequate; there are areas and communities still practically untouched; the provision for training teachers is insufficient; the remuneration of the teachers is inadequate; the housing and equipment of the schools are poor.'

The commissioners point out that more than half a million of villages in British India are unsupplied by a primary school; that in each village the average number of children of school-going age is under 60; that one-teacher schools are at best ineffective; that the type of teacher required for the Indian villages is very difficult to define and to provide; that, even if little beyond a living wage be paid to the teachers, the cost will be enormous; that the economic level of many of the villages is so low that the inhabitants can contribute little or nothing to the support of the schools, and that the wealthy landowner and even the well-to-do farmer has not yet discovered that it is to his interest to educate the agricultural labourer, still less the outcaste. Among the common folk there is very little public opinion in favour of education. Moreover, social and religious differences divide the village community, with the result that some groups of children will not attend school along with others living in the same place. In the State of Mysore, where the late Dewan and his successor, with the zealous co-operation of the Inspector-General of Education, have vigorously upheld the right of the Panchamas to enjoy opportunities of access to schools maintained out of public funds, a determined attempt was made the other day in the Representative Assembly to rescind the government order which admits the backward and depressed classes to the public schools.

But there are many signs of change. Public opinion among the educated classes in India is gradually becoming more favourable to the idea of universal elementary education. That excellent weekly review *The Indian Social Reformer* steadily exerts its influence in behalf of an educational policy which will be just and generous to all classes in the community. An increasing number of employers and of landowners regard a great extension of primary schools as one of the most urgent needs of India. Acts permitting the introduction of compulsory primary education in local areas have been passed in Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa—to speak of British India alone. The report on *Indian Education in 1918–19* just issued by the Bureau of Education on behalf of the Government of India gives a convenient summary of the main characteristics of these new Acts.

> The adoption of compulsion is left to the local bodies. In all the provinces mentioned above, the principle of compulsion is extended to municipalities; in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa, to unions; in the Punjab, to district boards,

cantonments, small towns and notified areas. In Bombay and the United Provinces the Acts apply to boys and girls; in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Punjab, to boys only. The compulsory age limits are from the ages of 6 and 11 in Bombay, the United Provinces and the Punjab, while in Bengal, and in Bihar and Orissa, the age limits are 6 and 10. In Bombay, the United Provinces and the Punjab compulsory education is to be free. In the other provinces remission of fees is provided for under certain conditions. In all cases parents and employers preventing children from complying with the Act are liable to be fined. In all provinces provision is made for additional taxation and for the exception from the operation of the Acts of particular classes and communities. In Bengal compulsion is to be preceded by a general provision of educational facilities for all boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 11, but the compulsion which may follow such provision is applicable to boys only between the ages of 6 and 10.

The passing of these Acts shows that the public conscience has been stirred. Far off as may be the realization of the hope of universal primary education in India, the first steps have been taken towards local developments of compulsory attendance at school.

What are the forces which are producing this incipient desire for the wide extension of primary education? One motive, powerful in its effect upon some minds, is social compassion. India suffers through ignorance. The needs of the poor touch the conscience of the social reformer. He sees them in poverty, in humiliating dependence, and at every disadvantage in their struggles against debt, oppression and unhealthy surroundings. Education, though not in itself a complete remedy, is an indispensable part of the reforms which can alleviate these social evils. Therefore the social reformers are earnest advocates of primary education for the people. They are few in number but their influence spreads widely. Their arguments and appeals excite opposition and arouse in some minds a recrudescence of ancient prejudice; but they plead for a change which is indisputably needed, and by drawing attention to the educational destitution of millions of the Indian population they are slowly winning their way in the teeth of stubborn opposition. Hopeless, however, would be their chances of success in this disheartening propaganda, were it not that immense social changes are silently working on their side. Modern industry has its grip on India. At present it touches small patches of that immense territory. But it advances inexorably. And modern industry demands primary education as one of the necessary conditions for its successful growth. The commissioners quote an apt saying on this subject: ‘There are no undeveloped resources in India comparable to the neglected and uncultivated powers of the masses.’ This is the argument which works like leaven in the minds of those who desire the industrial development of India. It predisposes the forces of capital and of industrial enterprise to regard primary education for the masses of the people as a factor in progress and as one of the conditions upon which the achievement of their hopes depends. And not only the organizers of modern industry desire India to be better educated but also an increasing number of those who see in factory employment a way by which they and their children may earn a better livelihood and may ward off the spectre of want.

Modern industry makes universal elementary education inevitable. All countries which come under its influence feel the same stress of need for primary schools. A great economic change underlies, though it does not wholly account for, the more favourable disposition shown in India towards plans for the education of the whole people. It works in two ways—as an incentive to reforms which will enhance the industrial adaptability of the masses, and also as giving a reason why the State and the local communities should protect the children against the perils of exploitation by giving them betimes the training of mind and body which will enable them to adjust themselves to the new conditions and opportunities of employment. And it is in this instinctive self-protection against the dangers of a great revolution in industrial conditions that we find the clue to the fundamental cause of the change which has come over the minds of men and women with regard to universal primary education. The advance of modern industry with its restless growth and eager ambitions is itself the outcome of a movement in the spirit of man. Individuality is asserting itself, sometimes in strenuous and successful enterprise, more often in moth-like attraction to the flame, but always in an increasing readiness for change. The older bonds of custom are being relaxed. New compulsions may take their place, but the ancient restraints upon the mind are weaker than they were. The individual demands his chance. And, in order to seize his chance, he must have at any rate the elements of education. Without education he is not mobile enough. He is held down by his ignorance and does not see his opportunity. Instinctively he wants education because he realizes the value of personality. Thin and poor in most cases are his ambitions, purblind his insight into the values of life. But at the core of the desire for education lies a heightening of individuality. And in its nobler aspirations the yearning for education is a yearning for greater humanity in the lot of the common folk. In its baser forms it is an unrest which may lead to insatiable jealousies, to discontent with inevitable hardships, perhaps to disorder and to anarchy doomed to end in some form of harsh dominion and unflinching social control. But as an expression of individuality, as a claim for respect towards human personality, it is a sacred thing, pregnant with possibilities of good, as well as of danger, to the masses of India.

It is not too much to say that the question of introducing universal elementary education into India is one of the gravest and most inspiring of the problems which confront her statesmen. Momentous issues turn upon the way in which it is handled. India will be revolutionized for good or for evil by her elementary schools. We are watching the first stages of an historic change. Little has yet been done towards establishing the new system. The prospect of success still seems discouraging. Inertia, selfishness, crippling custom, failure to recognize the educational claims of girls and women, widespread poverty, the stupendous scale upon which reforms must be carried out if they are to be effective, the diversity of languages and of scripts, are obstacles so formidable that in moments of despondency the social reformer, whether Indian or European, may feel on the point of despair. But spiritual and economic forces, which will prove irresistible, are behind the growing demand for educational opportunity. Slow as the change may be, India will in time have universal elementary education for boys and girls. In spite of all difficulties, the final issue is clear. In India, as in Europe and North America, the future—so far as we can forecast it—is in great measure bound up with the schools.

III

Because it is one recognition of the claims of human personality and because through its influence character may be strengthened and high principle inculcated, the elementary school has an intimate connexion with the work of Christian missions. Education is a field in which the missionary is bound to do some of his most important work. In education he has served India nobly in the past. The future calls him to redoubled effort in this branch of his ministry. The mass movements, resulting in the rapid growth of the Christian community in certain districts, call for a new educational policy. It is also observed that in some areas the men who have returned from the war are keenly desirous of more education. Unfortunately, at the time when new needs are revealing themselves and new opportunities are offered, the change in the rate of exchange has embarrassed missionary budgets and will necessitate the cutting down of expenditure, unless missionary income is largely increased and unless missionary efforts are to a considerable degree consolidated by union.

In modern Indian education the Christian missionary has been a pioneer. He has led the way. His ventures have guided public opinion and have shown what is possible in the way of educational development. But the task of providing education for the whole population of India cannot be accomplished by voluntary enterprise. Already Christian missions provide but a small part of the education which India enjoys. Quantitatively their share will diminish. Government must always be the predominant authority in the supply of education upon a national scale. But qualitatively the educational work of Christian missions may become increasingly important. They have an ideal which no nation can afford to lose. They are free to make new experiments. They have at their command the priceless service of devoted men and women. Much therefore depends for India on there being co-operation between the governments and the missionary societies in the development of educational opportunity. The commissioners are able to report that the relations between the Government of India and missions have for many years been most cordial. They add that the same statement is generally true of the relations between missions and the provincial governments. The coming transfer of education in the provinces to the care of Indian ministers will, it is hoped, not impair the cordiality of this co-operation. But it will raise fresh questions. To some Indian critics, Christian missions may appear to be too closely identified with the existing Government. On this point the commissioners observe that 'missions ought to represent the highest Christian conscience of the West, and ought to bring that conscience to bear upon the acts of the Government of India as Christian opinion is brought to bear on the governments of the West. So small is the missionary community and so important is this function that it must be consciously and courageously faced.' Not less difficult from another point of view are the questions which arise from the growth of the movement in favour of compulsory elementary education. 'Even at present,' the commissioners write, 'there is sometimes a regrettable tendency for local authorities to plant schools in such proximity to mission schools, even where these are thoroughly efficient, as to lead to unhealthy competition. In view of the contribution which mission schools are able to make to the life of the country, it is of the utmost importance that scope be given to them in whatever system may come into force, and we are glad to note that this is being done in the recent legislation for Mysore. It is very desirable also that, in the extension of their work whether under a system of compulsion or otherwise, local authorities should consult with the managers of aided schools with a view to the best possible disposal of the entire educational force.'

The principles laid down in the great Educational Despatch of 1854 are sound. Government gains from the co-operation of voluntary bodies in educational work. The voluntary bodies, on their part, may drive great benefit from cordial co-operation with Government. The grant-in-aid system has been beneficial in its results both in England and in India. In grappling with a task so huge as that of education, the Indian governments will be wise to welcome all effective help which is offered to them by men and women of good will. But, in India as in England, new questions arise when in any district education is made compulsory for all children between certain limits of age. Upon what terms should Government accept a privately managed school as meeting, so far as its accommodation goes, the need which compulsory attendance requires ? It is also possible that, when education has passed under the direction of Indian ministers, proposals may be made under the influence of English precedents that government grants should be conditional upon the acceptance of a conscience clause. Hitherto, however, a conscience clause has not been adopted by the vast majority of the missions in India. Upon the very difficult question of the adjustment of the conflicting claims which missionary bodies and the governments are severally bound by principle to recognize, the commissioners record the following opinion :

1. Mission schools exist to give an education which should be Christian through and through. In this education the teaching of the Bible is a most important factor. Even, however, if some pupils are exempted from the Bible lesson, the rest of the education cannot be described as 'merely secular.'

2. As religious education forms an important element in the educational life of the country, it ought to receive government aid on the same conditions as any other type of education, in accordance with the system inaugurated in 1854.

3. Hardship may exist where parents have no option except to send their children to a school where a religion other than their own is taught.

4. In such cases, managers should, if objection to religious instruction is conscientiously made by parents, either (*a*) allow exemption from such instruction in certain cases, or (*b*) give up their grant-in-aid. To provide for such a situation, a conscience clause is justifiable.

5. Inasmuch as a choice is open to parents (except in cases as described above), the introduction of a general conscience clause seems under present circumstances to be unnecessary.

6. Where grants are taken, however, the voluntary adoption of a conscience clause by all missionary institutions seems to us to be right. It might also obviate the necessity for legislation.

7. A conscience clause enforced by legislation can, in the nature of the case, deal only with the time-table, and would not apply to the general Christian influence of the school.

In this wise and circumspect manner the commissioners suggest a solution for a difficulty which at present is rather one of abstract principle than of administrative necessity and may be avoided by mutual concession and by good feeling on both sides. Towards the maintenance of such good feeling between the missionary societies and the governments, the report prepared by the Commission is a valuable contribution.

A breach in the friendly relations between missions and the Indian governments would be deplorable in its effects upon educational progress in the immediate future. Education is but one aspect of the social problem. In dealing with the social problem there are abundant opportunities for joint action among the agencies which aim at the public welfare, and not least for joint action on the part of Government and the missionary educators. For example, in promoting co-operative credit the missionary will wisely avail himself of the advantage of government supervision and audit. The Government in its turn will find that with the help of the missionary it can reach classes which otherwise are beyond its influence. Missions, again, are closely concerned with the welfare of the depressed classes. They will therefore find it desirable to co-operate with Government when, as recently in Madras, an experienced officer is appointed as full-time worker for the amelioration of the condition of that part of the community. The functions of Government, extending ever more widely into the field of social reform, will become year by year less easily separable from the functions of other agencies engaged in the work of furthering public welfare. The duties of Government and of the missionary societies meet in the sphere of education and of social reform. In that sphere closely concerted action is possible without surrender of conviction and principle. Antagonism between the two agencies would be wasteful and injurious. Co-operation will be fruitful and mutually beneficial. Especially will this be true in the development of the more practical side of instruction for children from the villages. What the governments do for the industrial and agricultural training of the people (and these efforts are certain to increase) should be made use of by the missionary bodies in the development of their own educational work. And the commissioners therefore encourage missionaries and Indian Christians to undertake the duties of membership of municipalities, local boards and, when opportunity offers, of higher authorities, because they will be able in this way to follow more closely the development of public work for the betterment of education and of local conditions and to secure the wise adjustment of the labours of Government and of bodies of voluntary workers.

IV

In the light of this liberal view of the future relations between the missionary societies and the Indian governments, the commissioners have framed a policy of educational advance with special regard to the needs of the village communities. They recognize the fact that the European missionaries cannot alone support the increasing burden which the educational and economic developments of this work impose upon them. ‘The line is already far-flung and thinly held.’ Many more European missionaries are needed, but the commissioners desire to see them used chiefly for intensive work. It is through the development of the powers of the Indian Christian community that new bodies of helpers may be found. ‘It is essential,’ the commissioners write, ‘that both those who are responsible for choosing missionaries and those who come out should clearly recognize that a great change is taking place in India. This is due in part to the development of the Indian Church. While it was in its infancy, it was inevitable that missionaries should stand to it in a paternal relation. As the Church advances towards maturity, the relation which at one time was right ceases to be so, and missionaries find that the assertion of authority is resented. For the right development of the Church it is essential that missionaries should recognize its claims to a growing measure of independence. For the determination of missionary policy and of the personal attitude of the missionary alike the clear realization of this principle is essential.’ The rise of the policy of nationalism has intensified the difficulty. ‘Missionaries come to be identified in the popular mind with Government, and even those who are not British are at any rate western. While the outcastes of the mass movement areas look to the missionaries as people who can use their influence with Government to procure boons, the prevailing attitude among educated men is very different. In recent years political agitation, sometimes extreme and unjust and animated by racial feelings, has tended to drive missionaries into defence of Government and almost in some cases to identification with it. That this should be resented is natural, and it cannot be wondered at that relations between missionaries and Indian Christians should often be strained.' The commissioners report that it is generally recognized that the situation involves a change in missionary policy. They endorse the resolution of the National Missionary Conference of 1912, reaffirmed in 1919, that 'Whenever capable and spiritually minded men and women are discovered, Churches and missions should make a real and unmistakable advance by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality in status and responsibility with Europeans, and thus open for them the highest and most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity.' Thus the commissioners, while fully recognizing the great difficulties of the position and the different circumstances which arise in different districts, enjoin a new outlook, a more extensive use of the services of Indian Christians in missionary activities, fresh developments of educational policy, and active co-operation with the Indian governments in work for social welfare under the new conditions.

The leading idea in the educational recommendations of the Commission is that the village school should be organized as a centre for the activities which promote the spiritual, physical and economic welfare of the community. Its teaching should be permeated by the spirit of social service. Its course of study should bear upon the practical and social responsibilities of life. Its methods of teaching should encourage initiative, resourcefulness and co-operation. Its teachers should respond to the need for social leadership and community service, and be so trained and remunerated as to have the ability and the position thus to bear a responsible and influential part in village life. The school is not for little children only. 'A large part of the education needed in the impoverished villages of India is adult education.' And a chief purpose of this adult education should be to encourage 'hesitant personalities to throw themselves in some positive way into the social regeneration of their little world.' The commissioners have been deeply impressed by the success of the efforts made in America to develop the rural schools into centres of social service and of community welfare. They desire to see the same spirit kindled in village education in India. And they are able to point to the hold which the idea of social service has got upon the Indian student population. Though the social work which the students have actually accomplished is for the most part desultory and is often ineffective, the disposition towards social service is clearly disclosed among many of them and encourages the hope that this spirit may be widely developed in village education, provided that the post of teacher is made attractive to men of competent ability and of adequate training. The commissioners suggest that each mission or area should send selected persons (tried missionaries or Indians) to America for a year to teach in the atmosphere of Hampton or Tuskegee, to visit a number of 'socialized schools,' and to take university courses in rural education and rural sociology. By this means the new spirit in American rural education may be conveyed into India and may address itself to the very different conditions with which Indian social workers have to deal. So far as the village primary school is concerned, the commissioners wisely insist upon its humanizing powers. They deprecate any premature vocationalism. The success of the schools will depend upon the ability and skill of the teaching staff. They desire the schools to make more use of story and song. Simple hand-work should be taught. A sense of the dignity of labour should be inculcated, by example and not merely by precept, from the first. In a word, the schools must be awakened to a new life. Worn-out routine must be discarded. The relation between teacher and pupils must have in it more of the spirit of comradeship. School hours may be shortened. Periods of attendance may be adjusted to the needs of domestic and agricultural labour. Skilful teachers, able to evoke a new life in the school, should be sent to a village for a short period of service and then transferred to some other school where in turn they might repeat the same process of vivification. Small schools in a single village should be consolidated. As far as possible, single-teacher schools should be converted into larger schools with two or more teachers. The age limits suggested for village education are from 5½ to 10 years. But the schools should also offer educational opportunities for adults. The ideal is that the school should be in contact with all welfare work in the community which it serves. The commissioners desire a new spirit in Indian village education, and, though the difficulties in the way are enormous and progress must be slow, their statement of the need will help the new spirit to diffuse itself.

Very practical and suggestive is the proposal made by the commissioners for a new type of rural middle school which would carry forward to a higher stage the education of promising children who have completed the course in the village primary schools. They call it the Vocational Middle School. It would be a boarding-school. It would be the central school for a district. Situated in a rural centre, it would train boys or girls for village life while at the same time equipping them with the knowledge and character needed by them for town employment if they should migrate from their village homes. It would comprise five classes, the lowest of which would be little more advanced than the top class of the village primary school. In each class there would be industrial work as well as academic training. The instruction would be given in the vernacular, but English would be taught by the direct method as a second language. The academic standard would approximate to that of the existing middle schools. The choice of courses on the industrial side would depend upon the occupations of the locality concerned. The schools would be in part maintained by the products of the pupils' work. But the aim of the instruction should be educational, and any elaborate division of labour, designed for the purpose of increasing the value of the manufactured profit, should be avoided. No boy or girl would be admitted into the school unless willing to contribute towards his or her boarding costs either in money or by manual labour. Opportunity would be offered to pupils to earn money by manual work and thus to contribute towards their boarding fees. Senior pupils would have a savings pass book in which their savings would be entered. These savings would be held in reserve for starting them in their own village on more independent basis. The vocational middle schools would derive much help from the advice of the government instructors in technical and agricultural subjects. They would be centres from which a knowledge of facilities for technical instruction and for obtaining scientific advice would be more widely diffused.

Another illuminating chapter of the commissioners' report makes proposals for the supervision of the schools and for the after-care of the pupils trained in them. The experience of the educational system of the Philippines is drawn upon and forms the basis of the recommendations made. It is proposed by the commissioners that every group of mission schools (ten to thirty in number) should appoint a trained Indian supervisor. The posts should be attractive in status and remuneration. Men who had sprung from village conditions and had received their training at a vocational middle school, with subsequent and successful experience as teachers of community schools, should be encouraged to look forward to taking the position of supervisor of the group of schools in a district. They would work in co-operation with the district missionaries and be subject to the authority of a district educational committee. Above the local supervisors, there should be in each large area a thoroughly qualified chief supervisor in each of three specialized lines—elementary education, vocational education and community service. The supervisors would help the schools and would give instruction in the best methods of teaching. They would suggest ways of arousing enthusiasm, of maintaining interest and of securing local aid. The essential thing is that they should be trained for their special work and effectively organized in a system extending over a considerable area.

A reformed village school alive to its responsibility to the community; a new type of vocational middle school established in rural centres; an effective system of local supervision; the knitting together of local effort by means of keen and enthusiastic central supervisors, each with special experience of one branch of educational or social work; the holding of teachers' assemblies for further training and inspiration; and the steady insistence on professional training for all teachers according to the grade of school in which they will work—these are the main features of the programme which the commissioners propose. What they recommend will cost much both in money and in personal service. But the realization of their plan will give new life to village education in India. Their proposals can be adopted both by Government and by the missionary societies. They suggest a new policy, a new method of attacking the problem, a new direction of educational expenditure. Their recommendations will doubtless bear fruit in time. What is needed at once is that a good beginning should be made. In this, the missionary societies can take the lead. In order to take the lead, they will find it necessary to co-operate with one another in order to avoid waste of effort and to secure the funds indispensable to further development. By taking the lead, they will render a great service to India. They will strengthen their claim upon public sympathy and upon Government. They will consolidate their work and win an ever-increasing measure of public confidence. They will further the spiritual aims which are of fundamental importance in all missionary enterprises.

The commissioners suggest that each provincial government in India should make a thorough inquiry into the social and economic conditions of the depressed classes with a view to their better education. They urge that the home boards should take steps to press upon the provincial government the urgent need for such inquiries and that upon these provincial commissions of inquiry missionary experience should be represented. They add that it would be an advantage if on each commission there should be at least one member familiar with the educational work now being done in rural districts in America and in the Philippines.

Such commissions, when appointed, will derive much assistance from the report which Mr Fraser and his colleagues have prepared. The report is vivid and practical. It holds up a picture of what village education in India may be made. The reader of it conceives the hope that it may be found possible to provide a large fund by means of which the missions in two or three carefully chosen areas may be enabled to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. What is most wanted are working examples of the new arrangements which the commissioners propose. From all parts of India inquirers would come to see how the new plan worked. The influence of the new system would be infectious. Practical trial would prove the value of the new type of school and of the new spirit in village education. And the new ideas would spread throughout the country.

M. E. SADLER

MISSIONARIES AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS

I

Modern non-Roman missions have generally adopted the policy of non-interference in the political affairs, either domestic or foreign, of the nations where their missionaries work. Practically all the missionary societies have a rule or an understanding to this effect, and their missionaries, for the most part, loyally observe it. The baleful effects of violating such a rule are writ large in the Far East. It was chiefly on account of the meddling of the missionaries of the Roman Church with political matters in Japan that the country was sealed against Christianity for two hundred and fifty years. And in China the satisfaction exacted by the German Government for the murder of two missionaries in 1897 intensified the scramble of the powers for spheres of influence which culminated in the anti-foreign and anti-Christian Boxer Uprising. Another factor contributing to the same result was the tendency of missionaries, both Protestant and Roman, to interfere in Chinese administration in order to protect Christian Chinese who appealed to them for help. Among the most flagrant offenders in this respect were probably the Roman missionaries, who had acquired Chinese official rank.

But it may be objected that eminent Protestant missionaries exhibit not a few examples of participation in political affairs. Such were W. A. P. Martin of China and John Mackenzie of South Africa. It should be noted, however, that they were not interlopers, but wise guides whose counsel was sought. Few persons would question that such beneficent assistance of the political authorities was warranted, as contributing to the larger interests of the kingdom of God.

The dividing line between such desirable participation in the political affairs of the country of residence and such reprehensible interference as we have alluded to above is sharply defined. Unfortunately, however, the line is not clear-cut in the cases confronting many missionaries to-day, especially in the Far East. The political conditions obtaining there are unprecedented and complicated and the missionaries are inevitably in the very thick of the maze. The conditions are unprecedented for obvious reasons, growing out of the economic and political rivalries of various nations, but also out of the presence of a highly civilized, aggressive but non-Christian nation, Japan, which is at the same time an object of Christian missionary effort. It is therefore not strange that mistakes have been made and that missionary leaders are eager to formulate afresh the principles and the spirit which should be applied in the relations of missionaries to international political questions. This paper has been written, by request of the Editor, as an attempt in that direction. No one could be more keenly aware than the writer of what risks he runs of being considered partial or presumptuous in dealing with a subject so intertwined with personal and national feelings and so subtle and intricate as to elude formal definition. He can only claim to have done his best to divest himself of any unconscious partisan sympathies and to have tried, in conference with missionaries more experienced than himself, to define some of the issues involved and to deduce some guiding principles.

In order to make the discussion most concrete and helpful it will be confined to the Far East, where the problems are sufficiently acute and yet typical of several other fields. Moreover, the situation in India and other British territories is somewhat different, at least for the British missionaries, by virtue of the fact that they are citizens of the nation in control, whereas in China and

Japan all missionaries alike are aliens and should therefore be guided by the same principles.

There appear to be three possible attitudes for the missionary to take on international political questions which involve the nation where he resides: a public declaration of his convictions regarding the question at issue; strict neutrality and reticence; the exercise of influence by personal counsel and contact.

The first attitude is one of openly taking sides, on the ground that political questions, almost without exception, are inextricably bound up with the moral and humane principles for which Christianity stands, and that if the missionary takes pains to emphasize sufficiently the fact that he is not interfering in political matters as such, much less in party politics, but only attempting to mitigate or remove the moral wrongs in a given situation, then he need not fear for the reaction upon the Christian cause. One objection to this attitude is that no matter how emphatically the missionary disclaims partisanship and political motive, his action is in danger of being resented not only by the nation criticized, but even by members of the very nation he is defending. For, no matter how much the missionary may endeavour to demonstrate that his activity is entirely disinterested and will, in the long run, be for the good of all concerned, human nature and experience are such that bad motives are sure to be ascribed. Furthermore, at the present time, there are many other competent persons—journalists, diplomats and societies—ready and eager to give publicity to abuses and to labour for reform. It is true that for a time the truth may be suppressed by a rigorous censorship, as it has been in many countries of late, but ultimately it will become known and will be all the more influential because of the evident unwillingness of the authorities to have it exposed. The missionary, moreover, by the very fact of his complete identification with the people for whom he is working, is apt, like a fond parent, to let his feelings distort his judgment. He is cut off from some of the corrective influences which play upon transient observers and foreign residents of other professions.

As a matter of fact, the open activity of missionaries in China in opposition to Japan's claims in Shantung has unquestionably raised an obstacle in the path of Christianity in Japan. No amount of explanation will convince many Japanese that the whole propaganda has not had a sinister purpose based upon the economic ambitions of the missionaries' own nationals, or upon the desire to further Christianity by exposing the villainy and depravity of un-Christian Japan. It may in this case have been wise to pay this penalty, but the point is that missionaries should deliberately count the cost in advance and only pay it when the lasting interests of the whole kingdom of God will thereby be served.

The second attitude is that of strict neutrality and reticence toward the whole question at issue, regardless of the fact that moral principles may intimately be concerned. It rests primarily on the ground that the missionary, like his Master, is commissioned only to establish the spiritual kingdom of God directly in the hearts of individuals, and only indirectly in political and social relations, and that any attempt to deal directly with political matters would jeopardize his spiritual authority as well as his friendly relations with the people and the government whose guest he is, and would thereby defeat his ultimate purpose. This position is supported by powerful arguments, some of which may be briefly stated.

Applying the analogy of war tactics to moral reform, it is contended that the sapping and mining of political evils by concentrating effort on the development of Christian individuals will be more effective than the storming of the citadel. Even when storming tactics are successful, the gains cannot be held unless a supporting public conscience has already been developed by the slower process. Again, attention is called to the fact that men in all other professions—law, journalism, diplomacy, politics—must submit to certain limitations of speech or action, and that it is not treasonable for the Christian worker to do the same, so long as he does not condone positive wrong-doing. Doubtless, so the argument runs, it may be hard to make the victims of injustice among whom he is labouring realize that a Christian may ever be neutral on a moral issue, so far as immediate protest or action is concerned, but the missionary must trust the impress of his life as a whole to restore their faith in him.

Finally, the argument based upon the example and teaching of our Lord is rightly given much prominence. The records show Him not as protesting against the abuses of Roman rule, but as teaching His disciples to support it by paying taxes and acknowledging its authority. He appears also to give some warrant for the doctrine that mundane political and economic power is under the domination of the 'prince of this world,' and that the children of the Kingdom must be resigned and not surprised if the world does 'go to the devil,' but simply devote themselves to saving out of the world those who will constitute the invisible and eternal realm of the spirit. Any attempt to build the city of God in the corporate life of men on this earth is foredoomed to failure. It cannot be let down from God out of heaven, but its citizens must be snatched out of earth into heaven.

These arguments evidently contain much that cannot be gainsaid, but also manifest fallacies. Their adequate criticism would require us to traverse a wide range of biblical exegesis and Christian doctrine. We must content ourselves with the bare statement of these modifying considerations. (1) The teaching and example of our Lord are not intended to impose a Talmudic yoke of regulations for our every act and attitude, but to generate a living spirit and to supply fundamental principles applicable to every age and circumstance. (2) With all Jesus' conviction of the reality of sin, He believed in the universal validity and ultimate triumph of the Heavenly Father's will—not in a division of sovereignty between God and Satan. (3) The kingdom of God is indeed eternal and invisible, far vaster than the earth can contain, but it begins among men in this world, and the highest duty of Christians is to extend it from heart to heart, from sphere to sphere of human conduct. To maintain that Christians should strive to make God's will operative only in the individual and family life of men, and not in the national and international relations of those same men, is to draw a manifestly artificial and untenable distinction. It may pertinently be pointed out that the prayer taught us by our Lord, 'Thy will be done in earth as it is done in heaven,' seems to imply this.

After all this has been said, it is in place to admit the underlying truth in this second attitude, to wit, that the primary function of the missionary, as of the preacher in the home lands, is to implant great moral principles, leaving his disciples and colleagues native to the soil to apply them to specific political questions.

The third attitude is the abstention from public commitment on political issues, even when, as generally happens, they are intimately intertwined with moral issues, but the use of influence personally with individuals both of the nation or nations concerned, and with influential men of the missionary's own nationality, so as to bring about a Christian solution of the difficulty; such influence should be exercised, of course, in a transparently honest and unselfish spirit, utterly removed from chicanery and intrigue. This method might easily degenerate into 'wire-pulling' and paying court to officials, and developing an itch for diplomatic manœuvring. But such counterfeits should not be allowed to discredit the genuine currency of disinterested approaches to friendly officials and publicists.

No one who is acquainted with the Far East can doubt that in the long run missionary counsel and warning, frankly but directly given to officials, will bear more fruit than if given indirectly in public. The leaders of Far Eastern nations are fully aware of the fact that the missionary is not primarily a representative of any one nation, but an ambassador of the universal and supra-national principles of justice and truth. They are canny enough to determine whether an individual missionary in any situation is loyal to those principles or is allowing national or personal interests to warp his judgment. Accordingly, if they seek the counsel of a missionary, it is always proper for him to respond in the spirit of a friend who speaks the truth in love. And if a missionary knows that he enjoys the confidence of the authorities he may even take the initiative in tactfully telling them his opinions. But while many officials welcome such approaches, they deeply resent the publication of criticisms and the fomenting of agitation abroad. Some years ago an eminent missionary published in a leading journal abroad severe but true criticisms of certain aspects of Japanese morality. The result was that he undermined his influence with the Japanese. They said: 'If you have any criticisms, make them directly to us, or at least publish them in Japan first, preferably in a Japanese newspaper, then later they may be reproduced abroad, but meanwhile they will be properly offset by the counterbalancing considerations which we can muster.' Such a procedure might not be wise or practicable for the ordinary journalist, but it is eminently wise for the missionary.

At the time when the relations between Japan and other powers in Siberia were most strained it was a missionary who, by private conversation and prayer with oriental and western representatives, brought about concord and co-operation between them. It is safe to say that if he had yielded to the temptation to publish his knowledge of the situation, he would have made matters worse, and quite possibly the repatriation of the Czech troops would have been indefinitely postponed.

II

The situations in Shantung and Korea have powerfully appealed to the missionaries' sense of elementary personal and national rights. Call them political questions—as they are—yet it is plain that they are also in part, if not equally, moral questions. Should the missionary stand mutely by and witness what seem to him and to the people for whom he is working serious violations of fundamental rights, or should he throw prudence aside, and seize his pen or mount the platform in individual public protest? The answer is, that if he deliberately decides that his own moral integrity is at stake and that his reputation, status, and if need be life, should be sacrificed, let him resign from his mission and act as an individual. That is what certain missionaries in the Far East have done in order to fight what they believe to be a holy crusade for human rights. It is, however, clear that such extreme steps are rarely wise, in view of the many other available channels of protest and publicity. In all cases the missionary should remember that he is a member of a larger body—mission, denomination, Church universal—and his acts and words must be weighed accordingly. As far as possible the individual should be guided by mission action, and the single mission should move in concert with missions of other denominations and nationalities, thus minimizing the danger of precipitate or partisan acts.

A very real problem has confronted missionaries in Korea, which missionaries elsewhere should understand. Practically no one, whether foreigner or Japanese, doubts the assertion of the missionaries that they knew nothing in advance of the Independence Uprising, and did nothing to foment it, but rather encouraged the Koreans to aim at gradual reforms. But the Japanese government and public, not unnaturally, insist that the missionaries should go further and, in the language of a resolution adopted only last year by a certain international committee, 'conduct their work in full loyalty to the government of the country in which they reside.' In other words, they should not only refrain from abetting the Koreans, but should actively endeavour to make them loyally submissive to the Japanese government. This raises some perplexing questions. For example, are St Paul's words in Romans 13 regarding subjection to the powers that be to be literally applied regardless of the justice and humanity of those powers, or is it to be looked upon as a counsel of loyal obedience to the best government that he could conceive as practicable under the conditions then prevailing? Is it not to be interpreted in the light of two of the fundamental teachings of Christ: the relativity of the temporal powers as stated in the words, 'Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and to God the things which are God's'; and the principle that every human being should be treated as a person and a potential child of God, and that any government which persistently violates this principle and seems beyond reform by peaceful legal methods, is a fit subject for revolution? We may observe in passing that this principle is deeply embedded in Chinese history, and was also practically followed in the comparatively peaceful but nevertheless real revolution effected in Japan fifty years ago.

If the Korean or Chinese Christians deliberately decide that they face to-day just such a necessity, who shall say them nay? It is certainly not the duty of Christian missionaries to insist upon submission to glaring injustice and oppression, even though it subject them to the distrust of the government concerned. It seems equally clear, however, that they should be all the more careful in such situations to refrain from abetting native movements, and should be so magnanimous in appreciating every progressive step of the government as to demonstrate that Christianity at bottom is the strongest ally of every just government.

Although the degree to which missionaries themselves should participate in international political matters may be open to dispute, they should positively encourage their disciples and associates who are nationals of the countries involved to take an active part in political affairs and bring the full force of Christian sentiment to bear upon them. The attempt of the missionary to remain neutral will inevitably be misconstrued by perfervid native patriots as a betrayal of moral principle. That penalty must often be cheerfully paid by ambassadors of a heavenly kingdom who cannot escape being aliens. All the more, therefore, should they exhort Christian converts, natives of the country, to express their faith by their political works. If this be true, one may question the wisdom of the missionaries in a college in the Far East who, upon the outbreak of political agitation against a foreign nation, not only issued a statement that foreign missionaries are neutral on political questions—which was wise—but prohibited political agitation inside the college grounds. Even though this may have seemed necessary, it is to be hoped that in similar circumstances every encouragement would be given to Christian students to help shape the politics of their nation along Christian lines.

Missionaries can often exert a salutary restraining and balancing influence upon native Christians who are swept off their feet by the intensity of nationalistic feeling around them. They ought to, and generally can, maintain a more nearly universal point of view, and their upbringing ought to have made it easier for them to avoid the confusion of political with religious issues. A case in point was the proposal made last year by some high-minded Christians in China to refuse to send Chinese representatives to the World's Sunday-School Convention to be held in Tokyo this autumn, as a protest against the Japanese government's aggression in Shantung and elsewhere. Fortunately better counsels prevailed, for it appears that many missionaries as well as Chinese Christians realized that such an act would be making a handle of an international religious occasion to promote a political and national end. One missionary to China well declared, 'It is precisely by such conventions that we shall develop the international opinion which will bring about justice and liberty. Others are setting nation against nation; we Christians must somehow co-ordinate the forces of all nations in support of justice and brotherhood.'

The conclusions thus far reached are, we believe, based not only on prudence, but on principles which Christians generally acknowledge. There is an important prudential consideration, however, against the public interference of missionaries in political questions touching Korea and Shantung which should be borne in mind. It is this. At the present time there is a young but promising liberal or progressive movement arising in Japan, which will have far-reaching consequences not only for the whole Christian movement, but for the cause of liberty and humane progress in the Far East. This liberal spirit has derived its chief inspiration from Christianity. Its growth might do more than hundreds of missionaries to ensure the triumph of Christianity in Japan. The leaders of the liberal movement have been foremost in striving to convince the Japanese people and government of the sincerity and unselfishness of the progressive and Christian elements in occidental nations. They have done much to maintain peace and friendship between Japan and America, and to secure a calm and constructive consideration of the difficulties between them. Not only this, but they have boldly criticized and opposed in press, platform and parliament the unjust measures of the government's policy in Korea and China, and have been the strongest advocates of a league of nations. Upon their triumph or defeat hinges much of the weal of the whole Far East. It is, therefore, an exceedingly serious matter to weaken or impede in any way this liberal movement.

Unfortunately, the fact that some missionaries have publicly opposed Japan's policies in Shantung and Korea, and the further fact that the Christian public which supports the missions in the Far East has through many influential spokesmen aroused world-wide opposition to those policies, has already led some of the conservative anti-Christian elements in Japan to feel that Christianity and the missionary movement are threatening the realization of Japan's legitimate ambitions; nay, that by giving moral support to the nationalists in Korea, they are striking at the Achilles' heel of the empire. This feeling has not yet been publicly acknowledged or propagated in Japan, but it would be easy for the reactionaries to use such a charge to inflame popular sentiment. It would not be at all strange, should present tendencies continue, for the Japanese government and press to adopt a definitely anti-Christian policy. This could be done so subtly that mission boards and even foreign governments would have little redress. No one can prophesy how far Japanese domination will extend, but even supposing that it were to be withdrawn entirely from Shantung and Manchuria, it would still continue in Japan and Korea, and governmental opposition to the Christian movement there would be a serious obstacle to the Christian cause in China and wherever the ramifications of Japanese thought, trade and education extend.

Thus far we have dealt with international political issues touching only mission fields. What of issues involving the missionary's own nation? It is always allowable for the missionary to criticize his own nation, especially where moral principles are prominently involved. But he should be chary of taking up the cudgels in defence of his own nation, except as he may do so by implication in the course of his exposition of Christian principles. In the former case he cannot be suspected of prejudice or selfishness, whereas in the latter he could not escape such suspicion by any amount of explanation.[1]

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[1] From this viewpoint it was proper for American and British missionaries to criticize their own governments' action with reference to the Shantung section of the Peace Treaty.

It is also permissible and positively desirable for the missionary to interpret to his own nationals the conditions and ideals of the nation in which he lives. Especially is it incumbent upon him to set forth sympathetically its side of any issue which may arise with his own nation. This does not mean that he should play the blind lover and gloss over weaknesses, but that he should share with his countrymen the facts and tendencies which he has such unique facilities for learning and appreciating. At the same time, the average missionary should be on guard against over-stressing political matters in articles and in his addresses in the home land. As a rule, it would be well for each mission or group of missions to depend largely upon a few wise, experienced spokesmen when it comes to treating political matters. However, this should not be construed as stopping any missionary from giving information and advice to his home board regarding political affairs which directly bear upon the missionary movement. Indeed, he should take pains to keep the officials of his society fully informed.

The question then arises : What should the missionary societies do in the case of delicate questions affecting missions like those in Shantung and Korea ? Their attitude, on the whole, should be analogous to that which we have advocated for their missionaries. That is, they should endeavour to effect the mitigation or removal of the moral wrongs involved, by making representations to their own national government or informally to accessible officials of the offending nation, but beyond this, they should leave agitation to the press and other agencies. Only as a last resort and after full deliberation, should a mission board or a mission on the field enter the lists publicly in such a controversy.

The policy followed by the missionary societies of several countries with reference to Shantung and Korea may be studied to advantage. In the United States, for example, the missionary societies have relegated publicity regarding the Korean situation to the entirely separate Committee on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. This committee has made direct representations to the Japanese government and has published two pamphlets containing authentic information and constructive comments on the moral aspects of the situation. This procedure has kept the societies out of politics and has exercised a wholesome influence upon public opinion both in North America and in Japan.

In closing, we must allude to the bearing of such international political issues as we have been discussing upon the relations between the missionaries in the fields concerned. At times during the past few years it has seemed as though the missionaries in China, Japan and Korea might cherish lasting distrust and resentment toward one another. But the event has proved that whenever they have met face to face and come to see both sides of the shield, they have been able without exception, so far as we know, to renew their mutual regard and confidence. It must be so, for facts are facts everywhere, and the principles and purposes of the kingdom of God are identical regardless of the location or attachments of the various agents of the Kingdom. Having those two fixed points, all straight lines between them must coincide.

GALEN M. FISHER

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE SUDAN

By ROLAND ALLEN

I HAVE lately been reading again Professor Westermann's article in the *International Review of Missions* for October 1912, and I have been greatly impressed by the fact that statements which when made by Dr Blyden in 1887[1] roused a storm of protest are repeated by Professor Westermann in 1912 as generally accepted truths. These are so fundamental, so far-reaching, that they demand the most serious consideration of all who direct, or are supporters of, Christian missions in the Sudan; for their general acceptance cuts deep into all our thought about the conduct of Christian missions in that great stretch of country from Gambia and Nigeria to the Nile.

Islam is advancing in the Sudan in some parts rapidly, in others more slowly, and it is advancing by peaceful propaganda. It is this peaceful penetration which Christian missions must meet, and therefore the sources of its success are matters which demand thought as well as mere expression. Islam is advancing more rapidly than Christianity, and if that advance is to be checked it must be understood. It is futile to imagine that it can be checked by methods designed for a very different warfare, a warfare against a paganism which was not advancing but perishing.

Professor Westermann says, ' In recent years Islam has probably made the most rapid progress in Nigeria, which has a population perhaps of sixteen millions, and especially in Southern Nigeria, which a few decades ago was almost entirely heathen.' But it is in Southern Nigeria that we have some of the oldest and best established Christian missions, and there has been peace in Southern Nigeria. This, then, is the problem which we have to consider, not why Islam advances where there are no Christian missions, but why it advances more rapidly than Christianity when both meet the same pagan tribes. What is it that attracts the African to Islam rather than to Christianity? Why can Islam penetrate rapidly into fresh fields whilst the army of Christ moves slowly? Why is it that, as Professor Westermann says, 'At the present day all reports agree that it is the more intelligent part of the population which is favourably disposed towards Islam'? What is there in Islam which so powerfully attracts the African? Is it something which Christianity cannot, or will not, offer?

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[1] *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race.* London: Whittingham. 1887.

1. Dr Blyden maintained that Islam offered the African social advancement, and Professor Westermann declares, 'That Islam represents for the African a higher stage of social organization than heathenism cannot be doubted by any one who has seriously studied the question on the spot.' 'When the negro adopts Islam, he at once becomes a member of a higher social class.'

2. Dr Blyden maintained that acceptance of Islam gave the African a new sense of dignity, new self-respect and self-reliance. 'There are numerous negro Mohammedan communities and states in Africa,' he said, 'which are self-reliant, productive, independent and dominant, supporting without the countenance or patronage of the parent country, Arabia, whence they derived them, their political, literary and ecclesiastical institutions.' He quoted with hearty approval a saying of Mr Bosworth Smith in 1874 that 'Christian travellers, with every wish to think otherwise, have remarked that the Negro who accepts Mohammedanism acquires at once a sense of the dignity of human nature not commonly found even among those who have been brought to accept Christianity.' Since 1874 many have borne the same witness, and Professor

Westermann repeats it. ‘When a Negro adopts Islam . . . he quickly gains self-confidence and self-respect. . . . The despised bush Negro becomes a Mohammedan of position whom even the European involuntarily treats with respect. . . . Islam makes him a self-respecting African.’

3. Dr Blyden maintained that Islam brought education and intellectual enlightenment to the ignorant. ‘Mohammedanism and learning to the Muslim Negro were coeval.’ He protested against the prejudice of missionaries who denied it. In the hyperbolical style which he loved he declared that ‘a man might now travel across the continent from Sierra Leone to Cairo, or in another direction from Lagos to Tripoli, sleeping in a village every night, except in the Sahara, and in every village he would find a school,’ and ‘no sooner was he [the African] converted than he was taught to read, and the importance of knowledge impressed upon him.’ Professor Westermann is more judicial. He points out that ‘hardly more than five or ten per cent of the Mohammedan population are able to read and write,’ that ‘the method employed is purely mechanical and the results are therefore correspondingly small,’ and that ‘book learning is the privilege of only a few who require it for the exercise of their profession’; but he too acknowledges that ‘Islam is entitled to the honour of having introduced the art of reading and writing into the Sudan,’ that ‘every town and settlement has its teacher,’ and that ‘there have always been among the Mohammedans of the Sudan men of comprehensive learning in the Arabic-Islamic sense who have been active in the production of literature.’

4. Dr Blyden maintained that Islam progressed because it was propagated by natives voluntarily. It seems to be universally admitted that the Mohammedan trader is often a missionary. There is something in Islam which makes a convert a missionary; there is nothing to prevent him from acting freely as a missionary; there is no barrier

(not even the slightest) in the way of the admission of his converts. There is perfect freedom for him to convert and for them to enter the fold. And the desire to convert is generally present. Even where there is no direct preaching, the mere open observance of the acts of prayer is in itself a most powerful form of preaching. 'The Mohammedan who enters a pagan village with his books and papers and rosaries, his frequent ablutions and regularly recurring times of prayers and prostrations, in which he appears to be conversing with some invisible being, soon acquires a controlling influence over the people.'

Professor Westermann says indeed that 'religious activity in the sense of direct propaganda has been of far less importance for the islamization of the Sudan than political and social influences'; but he also says of the Moslem merchant that 'his superior manner of life, his richer clothing, his purer worship, are a daily sermon to the Negro,' and he takes for granted the fact that all Moslems at once accept a convert. 'He is admitted without any restrictions into the Mohammedan society.' All African Moslems welcome converts, and all are in this sense, while many are in a more active sense, missionaries. Islam is presented to natives by natives and converts are received into a native church. 'Above all,' says Professor Westermann, 'Islam presents itself to the African in an African garb.' Its 'expansion has taken place automatically and without any direct effort.'

And as that society is self-propagating so it is obviously self-supporting and independent. Dr Blyden laid great stress upon this. 'In Sierra Leone the Mohammedans, without any aid from government—imperial or local—or any contributions from Mecca or Constantinople, erect their mosques, keep up their religious services, conduct their schools, and contribute to the support of missionaries from Arabia, Morocco or Fulah when they visit them. The same compliment cannot be paid to the negro Christians of that settlement.'

5. Both Dr Blyden and Professor Westermann insist that the progress of Islam is not entirely due to the social advantages which conversion brings. They both proclaim their conviction that a true religious motive assists powerfully in that direction. Though Professor Westermann says, 'Very frequently there is hardly any difference between Moslems and heathen. For both, magic is the religion of ordinary life'; yet he also says, 'The negro's conviction of the social superiority of Islam rests in the last resort on a religious basis, since he is unable to conceive of any striking exhibition of power as proceeding from other than a religious source.' '"The Mohammedans know more of God than we do," and "Their God is stronger than ours," are statements which express his deep and deliberate conviction.' And again, 'The Mohammedan is always and essentially distinguished from the heathen by the value which he sets on his religion and his unreserved allegiance to it, and by his self-confidence in religious matters.'

One point of no little importance is expressed far more strongly by Professor Westermann than by Dr Blyden. It is the impression produced upon the pagans by the respect paid to Mohammedans by Europeans. Dr Blyden saw the self-reliance, self-respect and independent bearing of the Mohammedan Africans, but Professor Westermann traces it back to its source in 'the consciousness of membership in a world-wide religious society,' and measures the effect produced by the open recognition on the part of Europeans of that membership. 'When a Negro adopts Islam he enters into a clearly defined relationship with Europeans.' 'The Mohammedans are regarded by the government as the most valuable element of the population and have all sorts of favours conceded to them.' 'Islam is officially recognized and respected by the colonial governments as a religious society, while heathenism is completely ignored.' 'In most of the European colonies it is taken for granted that those who join the army thereby become Mohammedans. The majority of the colonial governments maintain out of public funds schools in which the Mohammedan religion is officially assigned a place in the curriculum.' 'Moreover the Europeanized Negro never obtains among the whites that social equality to which Islam admits him readily. There are Europeans who take little pains to conceal the fact that the Christian "nigger" is as contemptible in their eyes as the bush nigger, and they not seldom take every opportunity of expressing their preference for Mohammedans.' And he adds, 'This sufficiently explains the fact that recently even natives who have received a Christian education have become advocates of Islam.'

Dr Blyden did indeed see the evil influence of the attitude which Europeans adopted towards native Christians. He was never tired of calling attention to it, and expressing his resentment at it, but he was rather concerned with its evil effect upon the Christians than with the effect produced upon the heathen by any sharp contrast between the attitude of Europeans to Moslems and to Christians, and so he did not treat this as of any importance in assisting Mohammedan propaganda. But that it has such an influence it is impossible to doubt. Europeans in Africa do instinctively adopt a different attitude towards the meanest Mohammedan from that which they show to native Christians. Islam is a militant religion and is always ready to take the sword against the infidel. It is not wise to stir slumbering fires by showing disrespect to any member of that religion. The writings and speech of all who have written about the government of the Sudan reveal that instinctive respect which is not untinged with fear.

When Dr Blyden wrote, a great outcry arose against him, and his facts were furiously controverted. Missionaries said then, as some of them often say to-day, that Islam advances not for the reasons which Dr Blyden suggested, but because it makes no moral demand on the pagans. It offers them the advantages of association with a powerful body without requiring any religious effort or putting any restraint upon their passions. Now it is surely plain that this reply to Dr Blyden must involve the denial of the evidence of progress which he adduced. Progress in civilization, in education, in self-respect ; zeal to propagate the faith, the power to attract 'the more intelligent part of the population' can scarcely be due to the fact that Islam makes no serious moral or intellectual or religious demands upon its converts. Because the demand made is not the kind of demand which Christian missionaries make, the demand for an instant and complete external break with long-established habits and customs, it does not follow that there is no demand. The demand is not external, and it is not instant : but if progress ensues there must be an internal and sufficient motive, and that motive must be found in the demands of the religion adopted. To-day all that we hear is the mere repetition of the phrase, 'Islam advances because it makes no moral demand.' Professor Westermann comes very near to repeating it himself when he says that 'in general one may say that the Mohammedan of the Sudan receives from his religion hardly any moral duties, but only religious commands, which exert no influence on his inward disposition'; but is it conceivable that religious commands which raise the social and general culture of a people; which abolish idolatry and human sacrifice; which diminish, if they do not abolish, the vice of drunkenness ; which bring in education, and put an end to barbarous heathen customs ; exert no influence upon the inward dispositions of those who submit to them ? When 'the more intelligent part of a population,' when 'even natives who have received a Christian education,' are attracted to a religion, and become advocates of it, is it fair, is it even reasonable, to maintain that that religion advances because it puts no restraint upon the vices of its converts ? Such an assertion seems to me to put a very severe strain upon our faith. Professor Westermann puts no such strain. Whatever he may say about the moral weakness of Islam, he repeats as the main causes of the advance of Mohammedanism precisely those things upon which Dr Blyden laid stress, and so far no answer has been given to him.

Since Professor Westermann repeats so definitely and precisely those very things which Dr Blyden set forth as the chief causes of Mohammedan advance, we may naturally inquire why some of the objections which were raised against Dr Blyden's statements have not been repeated to controvert Professor Westermann. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that much study has been given to the subject of Moslem propaganda since Dr Blyden wrote; but I cannot help thinking that in part it is due to the difference of attitude between these two men towards missionaries. Dr Blyden was a Christian, but he was also an African; and he lost no opportunity of drawing a contrast between the propaganda of Moslems and the propaganda of Christians, greatly to the disadvantage of the Christians. He felt bitterly the dominating, overbearing, contemptuous, patronizing attitude of white men for Africans, and he did not except the missionaries. He said 'the white man under a keen sense of the wrongs done to the Negro will work for him, will suffer for him, will fight for him, will even die for him, but he cannot get rid of a secret contempt for him.' He objected to the tendency of missionaries to state the savagery of the Africans in the blackest possible terms and to take up the attitude of one who must therefore eradicate, eradicate. He objected to their being 'the patrons of their disciples': they taught their converts servility; they pauperized them. There was among the native Christians none of that natural progress, that independence and self-respect, that native learning and original thought, that free natural expansion, which he so much admired in the Mohammedans. Missionaries, he said, made imitators rather than disciples. And he said all this not only repeatedly, but rather bitterly; and missionaries who in their hearts knew that they were doing their utmost to uplift the natives resented it, and refused to listen to him.

Now Professor Westermann says the same thing but he says it very gently and very sparingly: so gently and so sparingly that he does not rouse anger: perhaps so gently and so sparingly that it is not even noticed; and so his paper has passed unchallenged. This is a great advantage if it enables us to look at the subject with calm minds, and to see the truth: it is a serious disadvantage if it leaves us self-complacently to pursue our course unchanged, imagining that no change on our part is necessary if we are to meet successfully a Moslem propaganda of this character.

And that is what we seem in danger of doing. Professor Westermann made no proposals for meeting the situation: he simply described it; but proposals have been made, and are being made now. Mr Roome in this Review for July 1916 quoted with great approval a statement made by Dr Robson at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh that 'the very first thing that requires to be done, if Africa is to be won for Christ, is to carry a strong missionary force right across the centre of Africa to bar the advance of the Moslem.' Similarly Dr Patton in the *Missionary Review of the World* for January 1918 suggested that the true method of meeting the advance of Islam in Africa involved the co-operation of three societies now working in the Sudan, and the establishment of their work upon a solid foundation both as to method and equipment. 'In my opinion,' he said, 'a few centres well occupied will count for more than a string of feeble stations stretched over the vast territory from the Niger to the Nile. It is particularly important that well-equipped medical stations should be located at strategic points at the earliest possible date.' At the present moment, I believe several societies are planning a division of the Sudan between them, that they may advance each on its own lines and so establish stations at important points right across the country.

Now these schemes have all one common characteristic; they are all based on the assumption that the Moslem advance can be met by a great expenditure of money and the multiplication of foreign missionaries and of stations. If I may use a military metaphor borrowed from the Boer War, they propose to stop the invasion of the heart of Africa by a system of blockhouses manned by foreigners. Suppose that it could be done: the establishment of these stations is not only a slow and costly business but it is apt to meet with opposition from governments. But suppose that no difficulty stood in the way, we are still face to face with the proposition with which this paper opened, that missionary stations do not always convert the pagans as fast as the Mohammedan influence, that Mohammedans increase in numbers more rapidly than Christians even where there are excellent missionaries; and there is no reason to suppose that the same thing will not happen again.

What is it that we have to meet? We have to meet a religious propaganda which civilizes by admitting those who have least civilization into the society of those who have most, and allowing them to absorb as they can the higher civilization; which enlightens and educates by establishing schools of the simplest possible character, in which all teaching is rooted and grounded in one book and that one book the sacred book, so that every school is first and before all things a school of religion; which begins by accepting as converts any who are willing to learn even a little, and makes the converts feel that by mere union with the new religious body they are raised far above all their pagan neighbours, whilst entrance into that body is not impossibly difficult for any pagan; which gives the convert, simply as a convert, a position which he can maintain not only against his heathen friends and neighbours, but in the face of Europeans, and a position which he holds independently of any foreign support; which while it civilizes does not force a premature adoption of any foreign civilization; which begins by insisting that all the religious life of the converts shall be self-supporting, and more than self-supporting, independent of external aid, and more than independent, never receiving other men's charity but always giving of their own wealth, and that however poor the converts may be; which advances 'automatically,' as Professor Westermann says.

Can we expect to meet that by a propaganda which puts white foreign missionaries always in the first place, and teaches the whole native Christian community to depend upon them; which, to quote rather the mild speech of Professor Westermann than the fierce indignation of Dr Blyden, 'destroying his civilization and seeking to substitute our own,' is in danger of 'turning the Negro into a mere caricature of the European'?

And yet is it inconceivable that Christianity has within it that secret inner strength which grows of itself? Why does Dr Blyden contrast the Christian propaganda with the Mohammedan on every one of these deep inner things, growth in native civilization and learning, self-respect, independence of character and the like, and always to the disadvantage of the Christian; and why does Professor Westermann gently hint the same thing? Is it the fault of our religion? or is it the fault of our teaching? or is it the fault of our practice? Are we to acknowledge that those things which make the more intelligent Africans 'see in Islam the religion of the modern African' are really alien to the spirit of Christianity? Are we to believe that it is impossible and undesirable that Africans should be attracted to Christianity because they saw Christian Africans finding in Christianity all, and more than all, that those who become Mohammedans seem to find in Islam? Is it not true that Christianity, without the forms of western civilization, should be a civilizing power? Is it not true that Christianity should inspire a sense of the dignity of men, and that the presence of the Holy Ghost should create in those in whom He dwells a true sense of self-respect ? Is it not true that fellowship in the Church of Christ should be a bond of union deeper and stronger than anything known to the Mohammedan ? Is it not true that there is in Christianity something to inspire a zeal for the spread of the Gospel better than anything to be found in Islam ? Is it not true that the Church might grow in Africa automatically ?

Obviously the fault lies with us ; and obviously we ought to put the consideration of that fault, the search for its source, the amendment of it, in the first place in our thoughts, and to think more of that than of the establishment of stations, the multiplication of workers, the increase of funds. These things are all superficial ; the other is fundamental. But the superficial is always more easy than the fundamental. This is profoundly difficult. It demands careful penitential consideration ; for any serious attempt to meet it involves not merely the reconstruction of our methods of procedure, but a spiritual change. One thing is certain. We cannot alter the attitude of the majority of our countrymen to the native Christians in a moment. We cannot make them welcome converts, or treat them as Christian brethren ought to be treated. Native self-respect will not easily be built up in an atmosphere of insolence, supercilious scorn, or even of patronage. We cannot alter the masterful, dominating character of the western folk to whom we belong. With our eyes wide open to its evils we find it almost impossible to control it in ourselves. Nothing is so hard for us as to *respect* our converts, and to show respect, the respect which helps them to true Christian self-respect.

A free native Church conscious of its royal prerogatives [1] might beat back Islam : a dependent one cannot, and will not even attempt it : a foreign force however great its efforts, however large its resources, cannot succeed by itself. It cannot succeed even by employing natives to assist it. Until the native Christians learn to respect themselves, to feel that they can advance the Church by their own unaided efforts, we shall never be able to meet the Moslem propaganda on equal terms. If there is truth in the case set forth by Professor Westermann this is the inevitable conclusion, as it seems to me, and it is to this that I desire to call the attention of thoughtful people.

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[1] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

ROLAND ALLEN

[This article will be made the basis of an inquiry into the subject of which it treats and the results will be published in subsequent numbers of the Review.—ED.]

CHRISTIANITY AND LABOUR CONDITIONS IN AFRICA

By FULANI BIN FULANI

THE chairman of a recent conference of one of the Methodist Churches said that Christians ought to be active against injustice everywhere. He was referring to the work of the League of Nations Union, which is making a special effort to persuade the Churches to support it.

Such statements as the one just quoted are getting fairly common. In general it is true to say that Christians are increasingly uneasy before the spectacle of misery the world presents, and increasingly dissatisfied with the old remedy hitherto preached, the conversion of the miserable. We remember that Jesus rebuked those who attributed a child's blindness from birth to his own or his parents' sin; that He blamed neither the carelessness of the man who had fallen among thieves nor even the wickedness of the thieves themselves, but blamed instead the inertia of the respectable and religious; that His general attitude to the unfortunate and disreputable was so sympathetic that He even said He would judge and treat His followers as they treat the meanest of mankind. The war has made it easier to see the falsity of the idea, so un-Christian but so common among Christians, that people who have comforts have them because they deserve them and that people who go hungry or cold to bed must have done something wicked to meet with such a fate. And thousands all over Christendom are asking for guidance and puzzling out their duty. Priests and Levites are very concerned about the millions who have fallen among thieves, none the less because it is not easy and sometimes not even possible for them to provide an ass and an inn each of them for some sufferer.

“The Bonebrake

Africa is the part of the world where these questions press hardest. It is the home of the world's slave race. It is in Africa that ‘the least of these’ lives, to whom our behaviour counts as if Jesus Himself were a slave's son with a black skin.

We are concerned with the establishment in Africa of the Church, the agency that in Africa as elsewhere is to convert the kingdom of this world into the kingdom of God. We cannot understand the Church's task in Africa without understanding the past and present relations of Europe with Africa. We may look upon the work of the Church in Africa as solely concerned with the presentation by individuals to individuals of an eternal message of salvation, unrelated to the facts of life in Africa to-day or yesterday, political, industrial or any other. But Africans do not so regard the Church's work. They look upon men's lives as they hear men's words. They judge the gospel message by its fruits in life. Preaching the Gospel is not the chief things Christians do in Africa, nor when an African hears it preached for the first time is that his first experience of Christianity. He hears with a mind already in part decided. He knows to some extent how the gospel messenger and those who send him behave and have behaved to him.

What, then, is that already recorded set of facts in the minds of Africans? It is, roughly, the relation of slaves to masters. We look on slavery as a bygone almost forgotten episode. To Africans in Africa it is a persistent fact, varying in form in different parts of Africa and in different generations. All Europeans to them are wonderfully clever and powerful persons with white skins and soft clothes, with guns that make conquest easy, who demand always, and are known always to have demanded, that Africans should leave home to work for them. Missionaries are recognized as a special kind of European, who urge opinions hard to understand and a code of conduct in private life hard to carry out, and they also offer greatly desired education. But they are Europeans too, people who never cease and never have ceased to demand work. If that seems strange it is only because to us slavery is a discreditable and forgotten incident. To Africans it is the central and changeless fact of their lives.

For two generations our country had a monopoly of the great slave trade, won in war from Spain. For each one of the twelve million slaves who landed in America probably two others died in the slaving wars in Africa, in burning huts, from disease and starvation on the way to the coast, in fœtid ships' holds. Over two-thirds of the continent the whole life of society was wrecked and broken, the arts of civilization, spinning and weaving, smelting and welding, were extinguished, tribe was set against tribe, clan against clan, family against family, so that England should have cotton and tobacco and her colonists and merchants should live prosperously. Do any imagine that when we ceased these crimes their effects also ceased? Whatever we may intend now and whatever missionaries may preach, the fundamental fact of African life over most of tropical Africa to-day is that the European as such wears the same guise as he wore two hundred years ago. What Europeans, missionary or other, intend is of far less moment than what Africans feel and think. It is not that the African is embittered. Only a slowly increasing minority of them are. It is simply that they feel themselves to be slaves, and think and act, in the main, like slaves.

The supporters in England of Christian missions in Eastern Africa have recently learned of a manifesto published in Africa by two Anglican bishops and a member of a Presbyterian mission. That manifesto while protesting against arrangements which involve compulsion on a large scale advocates the regular and systematic compulsion of all African males between seventeen and twenty-seven to work for Europeans for two months every year. One at least of the churches to which the signatories belong has since disowned the proposal. But clearly what is needed is explanation. To find the heads of Protestant missions of all people advocating a partial return to what the conscience of Europe rejected a hundred years ago is a fact which has plainly other unknown facts behind it. The study of the manifesto shows that the proposal is partly to be explained as being in the minds of its authors an improvement on the existing system. That fact is startling enough. That system in brief is as follows. In Eastern Africa as a whole no native tribe, chief or individual has any legal right to any land.[1] Some of the land, including the greater part of the most fertile areas and those along the railways, has been granted by our government to Europeans. The development of these estates is considered to be an absolute necessity. It can only take place by inducing the natives of these countries to leave their homes to work upon them. The facts of African history have made Africans in the bulk unwilling to do so. The minority that is willing to leave home to work for wages is quite insufficient to develop these estates. So governments have adapted their policy to supply them with the labour they need. Out of a variety of measures that have been taken the most effective is the persuasion of native tribal authorities by European magistrates. These authorities are frequently appointed by the governments and are always paid salaries that give them incomes far beyond what other natives enjoy and remove them from the influence of tribal opinion and feeling. Their position has in fact been made absolute as it never was in old days, except of course that it depends now upon the power of European governments. In tropical Africa, in fact, disobedience to the 'advice' of any government agent is of necessity seditious. The 'advice' may be, it often is, evaded, but it can only be resisted at the risk to the chief of loss of place and salary and to the tribe of loss of land, stock and life. Tribal risings, scarcely ever heard of in Europe, are due to the demands by European governments upon the land, labour and money (which in practice can only be earned by labour for Europeans) of natives.

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[1] The exact facts in the four territories in Eastern Tropical Africa that have been British for the last thirty years are these. In two, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, every vestige of native legal right in land has been destroyed. In Uganda some hundreds of chiefs have been made the landlords of about one-eighth of the Protectorate. In East Africa the coastal strip of ten miles deep has mainly passed by sale to Europeans out of its former native owner's hands. With these two trifling exceptions no natives have any security of tenure, far less any ownership, of the land they cultivate.

The meaning and results of the policy of 'encouraging' natives to leave the land on which they are still allowed to grow their crops in order to develop the land that has been given to Europeans, can now be imagined. That is the situation which the 'Bishops' Manifesto' is designed to meet. The Government of East Africa was faced with an increased demand for labour, due to the multiplying several fold since 1914 of European grantees of African land and to the large diminution of the native population mainly because of the war—the official figures of the dead among unarmed registered porters alone is over 40,000. To strengthen administrative control over every native a registration ordinance has been passed to enable the exact obedience each man renders to be known and to render the discovery of deserters certain—the already existing law ensures the punishment of desertion as a criminal offence. With the exact knowledge given by registration the Government proposed merely to increase the pressure by magistrates and chiefs. The necessity of the public services being continued was made much of. Hope was expressed that some relief to the local labour market might be found in the territory conquered from the Germans. And, in the official circular issued to magistrates, the threat was made that if these mild influences were found to fail stronger measures would be taken.

From one aspect, accordingly, the proposal of the manifesto would impose upon natives a limited legal obligation, enforceable in the courts, in place of claims that the absence of any legal sanction merely renders endless and unlimited in degree. Better, they say in effect, twenty per cent slavery with supervision than the pretence of liberty with all the real evils of a complete system of slavery.

But, the reader will say, is the only real alternative between regular and limited and irregular and unlimited slavery ? That is for the reader to answer. And with his answer he will answer certain other questions. He will ask and answer whether the Church of God can be built at all of men who are not free.

It is hard to explain to people in Europe the state of mind of Europeans in Africa. And yet the key is simple. Underlying all they say and think are two conceptions. One is that Africans are somehow different in nature from Europeans. We know quite well what would happen if we were compelled to work for conquerors of an alien race —and what chance would their religion have of our acceptance ? But the resistance and rebellion that would be certain and even meritorious in us seems wicked in Africans. So also with the accusation of laziness in Africans. As if we did not know how industrious and productive the African is wherever he is free, as in the West Indies and in British West Africa. As if we did not know that laziness is always a servile vice, in Africa mainly of our own manufacture. So is it that in Africa few Europeans ever think how they should feel in the African's place. The idea is felt to be absurd, even insulting. We have travelled a long way since the first missionary said that in reality there was no difference at all between men of different races and social conditions. Any missionary in East Africa who preached an equal brotherhood here and now would probably be deported by the Government from the country.

The second underlying conception is that, whatever happens, Africans must somehow be got to help European landowners to develop their land. In a recent speech the Acting Governor of British East Africa repudiated the allegation that the Government wanted compulsion of labour. But, he said, 'the work must be done.' Quite so, and by Africans, of course. He cannot have referred to the public services. Everybody in Africa knows that if the fourpence or sixpence a day the labourer is paid were made eightpence plenty of men would offer. But then private industry would suffer. Obviously even the missionary signatories of the manifesto agree that 'the work must be done.' That 'must' is the mainspring of European policy in Africa. It was the mainspring of the slave trade. All that are changed are the legal terminology and the scene—from America to Africa itself. At no time would slave owners have been unwilling to lose their right of property in the bodies of their slaves if they could have kept control over their labour. Now Europeans are saved all the trouble of buying and breeding slaves, of maintaining them in old age, of bringing them across the seas. With as much land in Africa as there are Africans to make fruitful securely in their possession, and with governments devoted to the fostering of its development, the ownership of men's bodies would be a positive inconvenience. Slavery consists not in a legal status but in the power to enjoy men's labours and its fruits without their consent. And its roots in life are two: ambition, avarice and greed in the enslavers, and ignorance and its helplessness in the slaves.

If slavery in Africa is wrong and if it is the Church's duty to destroy it, there are two means of doing so: the removal of every shred of political influence over African governments and their policies by those who profit by African labour and those who seek to subserve that profit, and the opening wide to Africans of the door of knowledge.

Let no one in our time hastily prejudge those leaders of the Church in Europe who a hundred years ago condoned or were indifferent to slavery. If religion has nothing to do with politics they were right. Livingstone did not think so. Purest-hearted and clearest-minded of nineteenth-century saints, he knew that the Gospel for

Africa was the preaching of repentance and the forgiveness of sins to Europe. It was not and is not that Africans have no sins to be forgiven, but that their very debasement is the result of our agelong control and supremacy in African life.

The question raises in fact in its sharpest form the chief problem that is vexing the Church in our generation. When Jesus said that His kingdom was not of this world did He mean that the hope of human justice was to be postponed till after death, or that the kingdoms of this world were to become by the agency of His spirit in His followers on earth His own kingdom? In the one case the attack on injustices is worse than futile, since it draws men's eyes from their true heaven beyond the grave. In the other the Church's task is more than to attack injustices. It is to create justice, with the fifth chapter of St Matthew as its still unattempted corporate programme.

Africans have no coats. Each of us has at least two. Shall we share them? But let us not deceive ourselves. Africans' minds and bodies cannot be clothed by single gifts of charity. None can enter the kingdom of heaven alone. In that kingdom men are 'one.' They act as one, with joint plans and common means for ends pursued by all. Eighteenth-century slavery was not overthrown by men acting singly. Some of the liberators called themselves Christians. Some did not. It was not the Church that supplied the bond of union that gave each of them the strength of all. Will the Church supply the bond for completing their work in Africa to-day? Dare one ask another question, Whether it is not in such bonds for action with no self-regarding that the real Church, the real life of Christian fellowship, exists? Where was the true Church when priest and Levite stood aside? Did it not worship in the Samaritan's inn?

FULANI BIN FULANI

THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND MISSION IN INDIA

A SECOND GROUP STUDY

THE April number of the *Review* contained an article on the relations of the western missions to the indigenous Church in India. The article dealt in the main with questions of principle, analyzed the different factors which make up the present situation, and concluded with the promise of another paper in which practical lines of advance would be sketched. The present paper is an attempt to fulfil that promise. It may be added that both articles are the work of a small group of men and women, including missionaries of different societies.

'Church' and 'mission' are two great words, and it is a matter for regret that they have become slightly debased in current usage. When we speak of the 'relation of Church and mission in India,' we are using, in accordance with common usage, the word 'Church' to indicate the bodies of Christians in India, organized through councils, conferences, diocesan bodies, presbyteries or in other ways. When we use the word 'mission' we mean the authoritative body which represents in India the missionary activity of the Church in the West, in its several branches. This nomenclature is so general that it is waste of time, and only tends to confusion, to use any other, but it nevertheless slightly obscures the truth that both 'Church' and 'mission' are more than these. Of the true Church of Christ in India the missionary is a part, and no Indian would dream of denying him his place there. Again, it is of the essence of the Church's function in the world that it is a mission, and the expanding missionary work of spreading Christianity in India is the work of the Indian Church. These facts are fundamental, and if we use the terms 'Church' and 'mission' in a smaller and more limited sense, it is only that in discussing practical issues we may be clearly understood and may deal with the topics which do actually present themselves to people working in India to-day.

It is, however, to be remembered that this two-fold organization of the 'mission' and the 'Church' is not universal in India. In the majority of areas it holds good; part of the whole Christian work is controlled by the mission council, part by the authoritative body representing the Indian Church. In other regions this is not true. The work, for instance, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is not administered in India by mission councils, but by the diocesan organization which is also that of the Indian Church with the bishop at the head. The Methodist Episcopal Church has never brought into being a mission organization distinct from the Church, but includes both western and Indian workers under the authority of one body, the conference. Or again, to take quite another type, some of the Baptist missions state that their principles of church order forbid them to create a 'Church' with a centralized authority exercised over a wide area, and that the Indian Christian community finds expression with them through entirely autonomous congregations.

These differences in practice bring out a fact of great importance, namely, that the real issue at stake is only partly one of organization. We do not believe that those bodies in which no organic distinction exists between 'Church' and 'mission' are more successful in practice than others in solving the problem of the *true relation between Indian and foreign workers*. This is the fundamental question, and it must be steadily kept in mind in all discussion of the subject.

As a great deal of this paper will necessarily be concerned with organization, it may be well to urge another preliminary consideration. What is at stake is nothing less than *the best way of presenting Christ to India.* No one ought to be interested in the administrative problems of missionary work simply for their own sake, and we doubt if anybody is. It is, however, possible to get into a habit of thinking of the large and intricate structure of mission work as a thing necessarily permanent, and even permanent in its present form, and of the problem as merely one of the control of that great organization. This is emphatically not the point, and as there is some evidence that Indians feel this keenly, it may be worth while to labour it at the risk of reiterating what is obvious. To increase Indian personnel, and Indian control and responsibility, within the bounds of the present system of work, may not be an advance at all. What the best Christian mind of India cares about is the winning of India for Christ : what those Indians whose counsel we most need are engrossed in is the way in which Christ may most truly be lifted up in India. The machinery of the mission and the organization and life of the Church are means to this great end. Only disaster can come of thinking of them apart from that end.

While this is in the last analysis true both of the foreign mission and of the indigenous Church, the Church is not a means to an end in the same sense that the mission is. Essentially the mission is transitory, it springs from the fact that in one part of the world Christ has been preached while in another He has not. It exists to form the Church and lose itself in the Church's life. But the very presentation of Christ demands the Christian fellowship. In the East as in the West men are drawn to Christ not merely by hearing Him spoken about but by seeing the working of His Spirit. The Church is not merely an instrument through which a message is to be spoken ; it is a body in which a life is to be lived. If that life is strong and vivid, Christ is being preached as He can be in no other way. If the life of India is to be redeemed and enriched by Christ, it will be by her receiving Him not as an idea merely, but, as Life, the life of God manifested in the lives of men who are linked in the communion of a common spirit. The vigour, spontaneity and living power of the Church in India are matters of absolutely incalculable importance for the work of spreading the kingdom of Christ, and all our thinking about the Church must be ruled by this consideration.

If organization must be held strictly in subordination to the purpose for which it has been called into being, equally it must be considered a matter of inferior importance to the spirit and temper of those who administer it and work within it. This is particularly true of the present juncture in India. In all departments of life, political, social, economic and religious, India is passing through a period when special importance attaches to the contracts which take place between representatives of the different races. The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report point this out apropos of social relations between Indians and Englishmen. When we are looking forward to the transference of responsibility from Europeans and Americans to Indians and to the development of a system under which foreign missionaries will work under Indian control, we cannot well overestimate the importance of the spirit in which the missionary from the West addresses himself to the problem and adjusts himself to the new conditions.

None the less we are touching a vital matter when we consider ways of adapting and improving organization. For a good system will lessen the dangers of wrong method and outlook in the individual, suggest to him, almost imperceptibly perhaps, a true spirit and method and strengthen him in right ways. It makes an immense difference to a young missionary whether he is set to work in a system which of itself conduces to the following of a right ideal, or in one which works clean contrary to the principles he knows in his heart to be right. System reacts on spirit just as much as spirit on system. It is not quite true to say that ‘ with the right spirit any system will work.’ If a system is strong and bad enough it will need a moral miracle for the right spirit to survive.

We turn now to consider possible new developments in the relation of Church and mission in India with a sense of that great central task of presenting Christ to India with which we are mainly concerned, with a realization of the immense importance of the personal attitude and spirit in both Indian and European at the present difficult juncture, and with the conviction that the discovery of the best system or systems of organization is a matter of grave import and not to be lightly brushed aside.

I

We suggest, first, that the most earnest consideration should be given to the possibility of finding areas in which entirely new experiments could be made. It is as well to face the fact that a certain number both of Indian Christians and of missionaries feel that the most hopeful line of progress is to develop new work to be carried out on Indian lines. If any signs were needed to show that Christianity in India is a living thing, they would be found in the fertility with which new methods are being produced and new experiments followed out. In evangelism, music, education and the training of workers new lines are being worked. The *guru* and the *ashram* are beginning to appear in Indian Christianity. If the experiments are relatively few and scattered over the great expanse of India so as to be hardly noticeable, they are nevertheless very highly significant. Nothing would so much convince the most ardent and progressive spirits in Indian Christianity that the missions are not concerned only with carrying on work at present existing, under Indian leadership but on the old lines, as a cordial invitation to open up fields of new work on Indian lines.

It would stultify our proposal if we were to lay down the lines along which such an experiment should proceed.

The need is for Indian methods and Indian methods are beginning to be found. They have been found as yet only in rudimentary forms. It is, however, permissible to suggest that the work of Sadhu Sundar Singh in evangelism, and of N. V. Tilak in religious poetry and preaching, afford indications of what might be done, even by men of smaller religious genius than these. A group in South India, comprising both Indians and Europeans, have plans for an educational brotherhood. Would it be too rash to suggest that even in the realm of medicine there may be Indian ways to be followed and Indian knowledge (e.g. in the use of herbs and in massage) to be drawn upon as well as the more scientific studies of the West ?

It would be desirable, in view of the powerful movements for unity sweeping through India, that the Christian community raised up through the labours of men and women working on these lines should be in communion with some branch of Christendom both within and without India and not be a new sect. If there is some day to be one great Indian Church, we do not want to render that consummation more remote by multiplying separate communions, nor, we think, does anyone in India desire to do so.

There are two main principles which must be maintained if such new departures are to have success. The first is that they shall be genuinely the expression of Indian aspiration and Indian discipleship. We know that there is a reserve power in Indian Christianity which is yet to be expressed ; it must find its own modes of expression and no one can find those modes except Indians themselves. If we speak of ' experiments,' it is emphatically not with the idea that India is a *corpus vile* on which we may all prove the utility of our ideas. It is that the ways in which the heart of India can most deeply be touched are perhaps yet to be found and in the finding of them Indian Christianity will express itself. In emphasizing Indian leadership in this way we do not mean to imply that western missionaries have no place in this scheme. We know that some European and American missionaries are as keen to develop new types of service as are Indians, and that in practice Indians would most probably ask for their help. Certainly such groups as we know to be contemplating new forms of work are almost invariably both Indian and foreign. But the main thought and impulse must come from the Indian.

A second principle is that if such experiments are to have a chance of success there must be real support from the missionary side. To begin with, we have the past to take into account; the new experiments may never be born at all unless there is a disposition on the missionary side to welcome them and watch for them. Further, it must be clearly understood that such departures as are suggested may need, and most of them will need, financial support. The way to kill a new development is to allow it to start under conditions which preclude success. A mission board could recommend to the home authorities that money should be devoted to some new scheme laid before it by Indians, just as well as to any other scheme of development, and in the present financial condition of the Indian Christian community there is not very much prospect that such a scheme as that for a Christian residential high school, to take one instance in which a number of Indians in South India are deeply interested, could materialize unless it receives the support of the missionary authorities.

We believe that such experiments would have three outstanding advantages. First, they would challenge the best spirit in Indian Christianity to stir up the gift that is in it, and find the ways in which God desires it to walk. Second, they would, like all experiments, give data for further action, and mistakes as well as successes would have their value. Third, they would be of value from the point of view of others, Indians or Westerners working along older lines in areas near or adjacent to those in which the new work was being set up. As time went on it would be found that the organization of the more conventional type would be influenced by whatever proved good and useful in the other.

II

The suggestions made above necessarily do not touch a great part of the work of missions in India—evangelistic, educational, medical, literary, industrial, and economic—where sudden changes in method cannot be made and are not even desirable. We find, as was pointed out in the preceding paper, every stage of growth in different parts of the country. In some places there is a developed Christian community with competent leaders and power of self-government, initiative and resource. In others there is a tiny handful of Christians. In others again there are great multitudes, but totally illiterate, depressed and little able to shoulder responsibility.

It is a matter of general agreement, we believe, that the largest possible amount of work should be devolved upon Indian bodies. The principle is so familiar that it is unnecessary to cite any of the instances in which it has received classic expression, from the All-Indian Continuation Conferences of 1912 onwards. Moreover, a great deal of progress has been made already, as may be seen from the report on the Indian Church made annually to the National Missionary Council.

Broadly speaking, the need of the hour is that this process should be carried on as far as it possibly can, with faith and courage. The reasons for bold action are by no means only the temporary exigencies of the movement. The fact that Government is progressing rapidly along the path of constitutional reform, that there is widespread impatience among educated Christians with what they deem the needlessly gradual and cautious devolution policy of the missions, that shortage of money and of western workers, due to the war, has compelled greater recourse to Indian resources—all these things are important. They are, however, in the strict sense accidental. The real reason why progress in this direction should be bold and firm is simply that only so can the missions fulfil their essential task. We need a greater eagerness to discover readiness and fitness for responsibility, greater boldness in trusting it, greater faith in the unrealized potencies of a few weak men. 'The things that *are not* hath God chosen.'

There are some considerations to be borne in mind in regard to this whole question of transfer. The first is that in the very mode and conditions of the transfer itself there is need that Indian counsel should be taken, and Indian leading accepted. Some disappointing failures in this respect may be traced to the fact that in perfect good faith transfer has been made by European authority without adequate consultation of Indians, and needless errors in policy committed. From the very beginning the Indian voice should be heard. It is not in accordance with the true principles of devolution to invite Indians to work a scheme in the planning of which they have had no share.

Moreover the extent to which the services of 'educated' Indians can be drawn upon should not be too greatly emphasized as a test of the fitness of a given community for responsibility. Even the Christians of the mass movement areas, drawn from the outcaste communities, have their own native power of ruling themselves and managing their own affairs. 'A village panchayat,' writes a mass movement missionary, 'may be an assembly of illiterate men, but it is not an assembly of ignorant men, by any means. Nor are they men uneducated in matters of government. Indian villagers, even pariah villagers, have had centuries of education in matters of government and administration. It is often because our missionaries do not know enough of the vernacular really to follow an Indian palaver that they fail to discover how much sound sense and clear reasoning and practical wisdom there is in it.' Incidentally it may be remarked that if the vernacular is the medium of the church council (or other responsible authority) the extent to which the Indian mind is expressed must obviously be greater than if English is employed.

The area chosen for the devolution of responsibility should not be too small. It should be large enough to free the responsible body from the danger of becoming involved in the politics or jealousies of one locality, and large enough to enable a wide choice to be made of men of ability, including men not engaged in whole-time religious work, for membership of the responsible body.

Again, it is a cardinal principle that the transference of control, backed by the transference of finance, to an Indian body is likely to be useless if the help of the foreign missionary is withdrawn. Mr K. T. Paul and other Indian Christians have expressed strongly the view that in the great task of Christianizing India the co-operation of Indians and western missionaries is needed. Indians may desire to end the virtual autocracy of the district missionary, but they are very far from regarding it as a necessary consequence of transference to Indian authority that the labours of the foreign missionary should cease. The missionary should be definitely identified with the Indian Church.

We do not doubt that it is upon this issue that a good deal of apprehension exists, and there is need for the completest frankness in considering it. There must be the right of choice on both sides. The missionary should be able to say whether he is willing (as in very many instances he is most willing) to work under the control of Indian bodies, and he should be free to register his unwillingness to do so, should he have objection to the change. Similarly, the Indian responsible authority, if its responsibility is to be real, must have freedom to say whether it desires the missionaries engaged in whatever work is transferred to continue in their posts. It is common to divide money granted for work in a given area into that for 'European agents' and that under 'all other heads.' Clearly control, if it is handed over to the Indian body, must include the right to say whether the existing division of funds is right, whether more or less should not be devoted to this or that object. Unless we are clear at this point, we shall be burking the real issues, and failing to grasp what is fundamentally involved in the transfer of control.

It may be said that it is essential that safeguards should be devised against the misuse of this power by Indian bodies. Naturally the home boards will not allow their workers to suffer. We should prefer, however, to trust to the innate good sense and fairness of the Indian Christians, and to believe that their action will be dominated by single-minded regard for the cause of Christ, rather than to see devised an elaborate system of safeguards which it is difficult not to interpret as emanating from a partial mistrust.

The question of the transfer of money has been fully discussed in principle in the earlier paper on this subject. It was there laid down that there can be no real devolution of responsibility unless there is transference of money as well, and that while the foreign contributors to missions can only be expected to give to what they believe in, there is nothing sacrosanct about the principle that only Europeans or Americans shall control money raised in the West. A measure of self-government has often proved an incentive to greater self-support. At the same time, if the Indian Church is healthy and vigorous it will want to match the givings of the West by giving on its own part up to the limit of its ability. The system is sometimes adopted of maintaining a ratio between the contributions of the Indian Church and of the western mission. We are inclined to think such a method somewhat too mechanical. Some relation between the two things there clearly must be, but it must be worked out in each case with due regard to all the facts, and carefully watched as time goes on and adjustments made when necessary.

One method which is quite incompatible with a real transference of authority is the system of separate finance committees of foreign missionaries. Such committees must inevitably be the ultimately controlling bodies in matters of policy, and no church council can have any real authority unless it handles its own finance.

It is important to bear in mind the position of women in such a scheme of transfer. There are as yet few women occupying places on Indian ecclesiastical bodies. With the growing recognition all over the world of the importance of the contribution of women, and their increased influence in every department of life, it is important that women should take an increased share in guiding the progress of Christian work in India as elsewhere. It may in some areas, where Indian women have not come forward, be necessary to take special care to ensure that women are represented on the councils, and that not only European women but increasingly also Indian women take their share in the work.

One last point to be mentioned concerns the relation of the home board to the responsible bodies on the field. Where transfer to the Indian ecclesiastical authority has not taken place, the body with which the board in London, Edinburgh, or New York necessarily communicates is the missionary council on the field, responsible to it for the carrying on of work. Where transfer to an Indian body has taken place, and in a large area all or a large part of the mission work is controlled by it, clearly there must be direct communication between the Indian Church body, in which the missionaries, if they too are transferred, will be included and the western missionary authority. The need, already great, for frequent personal contact between missionary administrators in the West and the work in the mission field would then be increased, and it might be considered very seriously indeed whether boards in the West could not find ways both of increasing the very occasional visits now paid to the western constituencies by leading Indian Christians, and of including Indian representatives, by co-optation, on the boards themselves. In any case it is important that the tendency, already strong, to let the initiative in policy come from the mission field should be strengthened and not weakened by the transference of control to Indians.

It has already been suggested that for the purely personal affairs of European missionaries a European committee could be formed which would have its own communication with the sending authority, and to this no objection would be taken, we imagine, from the Indian side. It would be a point of honour with such a body not to allow itself to become a cabal which in practice would exercise undue influence on the representative and authoritative church council.

III

A previous paper in the *Review* (January 1920) by the Rev. John Mackenzie discussed a somewhat different method of Indianizing the work of missions, namely the inclusion of Indians in the ranks of missionaries and on missionary councils. The writer dismissed this method as wrong in principle, inasmuch as it tended to emphasize the importance of the foreign mission and to obscure that of the Church. With that view we entirely agree, and we should most heartily dissent from the position that as an *alternative*, preferable to the large transfer already suggested, recourse should be had to bringing Indians into the mission administration.

It has, however, to be recognized that transfer is not possible everywhere, even with the best will in the world. Even where it is possible as to a part of the work of missions, it may be undesirable in regard to other parts, especially where large institutions are concerned. There will still be regions of mission work not placed completely under the control of church authority. What should be the course of action there ?

Provided that a real effort is made to effect a transfer whenever it can possibly be done, we believe that for the rest the true line is to accept the principle that *no committee governing Christian work in India should be predominantly European or American*, and that where responsibility cannot yet be placed on an Indian council, the committee which is in control should in all cases really voice Indian thought. Educational institutions are a notable example of this point. It is true that institutions of higher education are now in some cases being transferred to Indian church bodies, and we hope that other instances of this policy may present themselves. Where, however, a college or a high school cannot yet be so transferred it is clearly right and necessary that the Indian point of view should be represented adequately on whatever body does govern the institution. We regard this as of at least equal importance with the appointment of Indians as principals and professors, or as district missionaries in charge of work not as yet handed over to an Indian authority. It is possible for the fact that the principalship of an institution is in Indian hands actually to obscure the degree to which control is really in European hands.

Along with an adequate Indian representation in controlling bodies should go a strong effort to increase the Indian Christian element on college and high school staffs, such lecturers or professors being identical in status with foreign missionaries holding similar posts. We are aware of the difficulty of finding enough Indian Christians of the requisite educational qualifications to fill all the posts available, but the record of Indian Christians in government service, including education, shows that men are available, and here again it is probable that a frank acceptance of the principle of equality will attract men who now find other outlets for their service.

A great deal of mass movement work cannot yet be transferred to the control of Indian bodies. Where transfer can be effected, it should be made, and there are no departments of mission work in India in which the voice of Indian Christians is more urgently needed and where they have more right to be heard. Even where this is impossible, and the general education of the converts is so low that none but the lowest grades of workers can be raised up among them, it is possible to get the help of educated Indian workers from other fields. Moreover, as has already been suggested, a great deal can be done by letting the natural faculty of the villagers for social administration find full scope for exercise, and by consulting the village leaders whenever possible. A movement so important for the whole future of the Indian Christian community as the mass movements must necessarily be, needs to be as speedily and intimately as possible linked to the life and thought of that community and directed by it.

The inclusion of Indians in committees which in the past have been composed mainly of missionaries—or at least of Europeans—and the appointment of Indians to posts occupied in the past only by missionaries and controlled by a missionary council, will always be attended by the danger above described, that the mission may be magnified and its *euthanasia* retarded. The only way to avoid the danger is frankly to regard this method not as an alternative to transfer but as a preparatory stage where full transfer is as yet impossible. The danger must be faced, but the risk is one that we dare not refuse to run. The purpose of missionary endeavour is to raise up a truly Indian Church. We must make it clear that we regard any system as defective for working in India which does not give full opportunity for the mind and counsel of Indians to be expressed, and that we apply this principle as faithfully in regard to work where to grant Indian control and full church responsibilities may seem as yet unwise, as in that where a complete devolution can be made.

The Indians who sit on missionary councils under such conditions ought if possible to be appointed by the Indian

Christian community, and not nominated by superior authority. The actual workers controlled by the mission councils, the pastors, catechists, and other agents, need also to be represented. 'Official nomination' has done a good deal of harm in India in other spheres than that of missions, and while we always run risks with the democratic method, it is the path that leads most surely to freedom and life.

IV

Very briefly summarized, the steps we propose are these :

(*a*) The development of new work, on Indian lines and under Indian inspiration, with the help of Europeans if they are wanted.

(*b*) The transfer of as much of the existing work of missions as possible—evangelistic, educational, medical, industrial—to properly constituted Indian church bodies, the missionaries being members of the Church and controlled like the Indian workers by the responsible authority, with finance handed over by the home board subject to a suitable proportion being maintained between foreign and Indian contributions.

(*c*) No mission committee to be without full Indian representation, and all work that is not transferred to Indian Church control to be carried on with as much Indian personnel in important executive positions and as much Indian counsel on authoritative committees as possible.

We know that many of the best missionaries in India to-day are meeting with these problems and seeking ways of expressing precisely these principles. Where church politics differ so greatly, it is necessary that men and women of each ecclesiastical type, Anglican and Methodist and Presbyterian, should think out in concrete detail how best in terms of their own system advance can be made—the kind of advance which makes possible further advance still.

One important thing, however, needs to be kept constantly in mind. In matters of this kind there is an ever present danger that we should deceive ourselves by schemes and words, and allow our minds to be content with a system which may appear theoretically admirable without a radical examination of its actual working and of the extent to which actual value and paper value coincide. The matters with which we are dealing are so desperately serious that we must be rigorous with ourselves in the effort to see things as they are. It is not enough, for instance, to say that under a given system certain posts are open to, or certain committees composed of 'either Indians or Europeans without discrimination.' In actual fact, are the positions likely to be occupied by Indians? Again, recognizing the pervading power of finance, recognizing also the fact that Europeans have perhaps a greater inherited aptitude for management than Indians, there is need for constant vigilance and examination to see that theory and practice march together, that real authority is where it is designed to be, and that inadvertently or unconsciously Indian responsibility is not being diminished or rendered nominal.

In a general sketch like this it is easy to appear totally unconscious of the difficulties involved in what is suggested. That there are difficulties we do not for a moment deny. They will occur to anyone conversant with mission work. They will leap to the mind of anyone who has laboured in the thick of it. There are all the dangers of work being conducted for a time less efficiently, money being administered without adequate care, lack of Indians qualified for responsibility, fear lest deliberate advance along the line of devolution should be misinterpreted to be mere concession to the clamour or the spirit of the time.

Yet the difficulties can be overcome if we are convinced of the necessity of action. The ground of that necessity is two-fold—and here we return to the principles from which we set forth. Partly we are constrained by the immediate emergency, the imperative need that in a day when great charges are being laid on Indian shoulders by Government it should be plain to all men that the Church is not behind but in front of the State in the degree to which she gives scope to the Indian mind and the Indian spirit to express themselves, and that the Church is not, as many say in India as in the West, negligible by those who care for India and desire to work for her. But much more we are driven by the great and fundamental principle that the Church, in its essential idea, is necessary to the presenting of Christ to India; that it is He who desires to speak to India with an Indian voice, to heal her wounds with Indian hands, to have in India this living Body, the vehicle and embodiment of His spirit.

Such a vision of the Church that is to be in India will deliver us from bondage to the past and to what is, and will even give us the sacred gift of imagination which we all so sorely need. It will give us strength to face any risk, shoulder any burden, accept with cheerfulness any humiliation, to labour and think and pray, if only the Church of Christ in India may become truly the Body in which He dwells, the instrument He is using to draw India to Himself, the fellowship of human beings in which is manifested the power of His redemption.

THE CENTENARY OF MISSIONS IN MADAGASCAR

By F. H. HAWKINS, LL.B.

During the current month of October the centenary of the commencement of Christian work in Madagascar is being celebrated in ‘ the great African island ’ with much rejoicing. For many months the native Christian churches and the missionaries have been making preparations for the adequate commemoration of the beginning of one of the most successful missions in the history of the Christian Church. An evangelistic campaign, having for its aim the proclamation of the Gospel in every village in the territory already occupied by the Christian forces, has been in progress. The native churches have already raised large sums of money as a thanksgiving offering to be expended in the erection of homes for boys and girls coming from the country to the capital for educational purposes and in the provision of a *foyer* or central hall for religious and social work. On Saturday, October 2, devotional meetings are to be held in Tananarive, followed by a celebration of the Holy Communion, and on the next day thanksgiving services in the many hundreds of churches throughout the island ; plans have been made for a series of centenary meetings and services during the succeeding days. Special literature, hymns, maps, diagrams and lantern slides have been prepared. The British and Foreign Bible Society has made a generous centenary gift of New Testaments for use in the evangelistic campaign. Reference will be made later to the special part the churches of Wales are taking in the celebration of the centenary. Deputations have gone out from Great Britain and France to take part in the celebrations. Only those who have had previous experience of the great crowds which gather together for religious services and meetings in Madagascar can form any conception of the numbers which will meet for thanksgiving to God at the centenary.

HISTORY

The story of the spread of Christianity in Madagascar is one of the most wonderful and romantic in the annals of the Christian Church. It may be conveniently divided into four parts.

(*a*) THE PERIOD OF PLANTING (1818–1835). In the year 1818 two young Welshmen, David Jones and Thomas Bevan, with their wives and two children, were sent out by the London Missionary Society as the first Protestant missionaries to Madagascar. Of the little party of six in a few weeks only one remained, all of them except David Jones having fallen victims to malarial fever. The survivor himself was so enfeebled by repeated attacks of malaria that he was obliged to go to Mauritius to recruit. Nothing daunted he returned alone to commence the work, and reached Tananarive, the capital of the island, on October 3, 1820, where he was kindly received by the reigning king, Radama I. In a few weeks he started a school with three boys, relatives of the king, and thus began the educational work which has been so richly blessed during the century. In 1821 David Jones was joined by another Welshman, David Griffiths, and six years later by yet another, David Johns. Throughout the history of the mission down to the present day the churches of Wales have given of their best life for the spread of the Gospel in Madagascar. Other recruits joined the little band of pioneers, and during the next few years a wonderful work was accomplished. The language was reduced to writing, dictionaries and grammars were prepared, a printing press was established, the Bible was translated, schools were started, the Gospel was preached, and in 1831 the first Christian converts received baptism, and churches were erected in the capital.

Meanwhile, however, the friendly king, Radama, had died in 1827, and was succeeded by one of his wives, afterwards known as the persecuting queen, Ranàvalona I. She was strongly attached to the old idolatrous customs, and though for a few years she tolerated Christianity, she regarded its growing power and influence with suspicion and took steps to repress it. Artisan missionaries had been sent out and the Queen was glad to avail herself of their help in teaching the Malagasy carpentry, brick-making, tanning, printing, soap-making and other useful arts, and on this account she allowed them to stay in the island for a time. In 1835, however, the Queen determined to put down Christianity by force, and at a great national assembly at which 150,000 people were present she forbade Christian worship under threats of the severest punishment, declaring, 'I detest these things; I tell you plainly they shall not be done in my country.' In spite of the protests of the missionaries they had to leave the island, and then followed the twenty-five years of persecution, when, in the expressive Malagasy phrase, 'the land was dark.'

(*b*) THE PERIOD OF PERSECUTION (1836–1861). In 1836 the persecution began. It was made a capital offence to be in possession of a Malagasy Bible, and every effort was made to stamp out the new religion. But nevertheless the Christians continued to meet secretly in remote villages, in rice pits, in the forest and in caves in the rocks. The fury of the persecution varied from time to time. In 1837 the first Christian martyr, Rasalama, was speared to death at the south end of the ridge of rock on which Tananarive is built. In 1840 nine Christians met their death in the same way, and in 1842 many perished by the administration of the poison ordeal. In 1849 fifteen Christians suffered death by being hurled from the top of the precipitous rocks to the west of the royal palace, and others were burnt to death on the northern heights of the city.

In 1857 twenty-one were put to death by stoning. Throughout the persecution many were imprisoned, others were banished from their homes, and many hundreds suffered punishment of various kinds, losing rank, property and liberty. And yet at the close of a quarter of a century of persecution the followers of Christ had multiplied tenfold. Thus once again in the history of Christianity the blood of the martyrs proved to be the seed of the Church. At length in 1861 the persecuting queen died and was succeeded by her son Radama II, a weak and vicious prince who was strangled by his courtiers two years later.

(*c*) THE PERIOD OF PROGRESS (1862–1895). In 1862 the missionaries were allowed to return. The scattered congregations were gathered together, churches were erected, schools opened, the Bible put into circulation again, and a period of wonderful Christian progress began. The new queen, Ràsohèrina, was sympathetic, and during her reign of five years (1863–1868) Christianity greatly increased in power and influence. On her death she was succeeded by her cousin Ranàvalona II, who shortly after her accession to the throne became a Christian, and her example was followed by her husband, the prime minister, and many members of her court. In September 1869 came the burning of the idols. Then followed a great mass movement towards Christianity—a movement not without perils, owing to the inadequacy of the missionary staff in the island for the task of educating and training the thousands of converts who flocked into the Church. The next twenty-five years (1870–1895) was a period of great development. The staff of all the missions at work in the island was greatly increased, churches were erected all over the central province of Imerina, the work was extended to other parts of the island, hundreds of schools were established and a theological college founded for the training of the native ministry. Handsome memorial churches were erected in Tananarive on the sites where the Christian martyrs had yielded up their lives. A normal school and high schools for boys and girls were started, a medical mission was established, the organization of the native Church perfected, the translation of the Malagasy Bible revised, and an extensive native Christian literature produced, including an excellent hymn book and several Christian magazines. Sunday schools were developed and Societies of Christian Endeavour formed. In 1895 there were about 200,000 children in the mission elementary day schools, and Christianity obtained a very strong hold on the central and northern parts of the island.

(*d*) THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH OCCUPATION. In 1895 a great political change came over Madagascar. It was occupied by France and in 1896 became a French colony. This change resulted in great restrictions on missionary work. The French authorities were jealous of the position and influence of the British missionaries in the island, and it was a long time before they realized that they were not there for political purposes. Mission buildings were commandeered and many obstacles placed in the way of missionary work. In 1896–7 followed a heathen insurrection, directed against all foreigners, which resulted in the destruction of seven hundred and fifty church buildings in different parts of the country, and in the murder of one Roman Catholic, two English, and two French Protestant missionaries. Many native Christian leaders were driven from their homes and otherwise persecuted; some were put to death. Then came a period of very aggressive Jesuit propaganda which seriously affected the non-Roman missions. But even worse was to follow. During the administration of M. Augagneur a serious effort was made to promote an atheistic and materialistic campaign and to injure the missions. By the simple expedient of issuing utterly unreasonable educational regulations many hundreds of Christian schools were closed, with the result that from 90,000 to 100,000 children were deprived of all facilities for elementary education. But once again in the history of the Malagasy Christian Church a period of government repression and persecution resulted in a purer, stronger and more living Church than ever existed before.

On the other hand, the French administration has done much for the material progress of Madagascar. A railway from the port of Tamatave to Tananarive has been made, excellent roads have been constructed, the resources of the island have been developed, its trade has greatly increased and domestic slavery has been abolished.

MISSIONARY OCCUPATION

Until the year 1864 the London Missionary Society had the field to itself. In that year the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society commenced work, the latter withdrawing in 1874. The Norwegian Lutheran Society entered the island in 1866, and two American Lutheran Societies followed in 1888. In 1867 the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association started its work. After the French occupation in 1895 the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, at the invitation of the London Missionary Society, began its work, generously coming to the aid of the pioneer society in the difficulties which faced it owing to the attitude of the French colonial government with regard to its work. About five hundred and eighty L.M.S. congregations, and, for a time, all its elementary schools, were handed over to the charge of the Paris Society, but later the schools connected with the six hundred and fifty churches which the London Missionary Society retained reverted to its care.

The relations of the seven non-Roman societies between themselves have for the most part been of a very friendly character. There has been little overlapping of territory or of effort. As a result of simultaneous deputations to Madagascar from all these societies, in 1913 a Continuation Committee for Madagascar (now known as *Le Comité Intermissionaire de Madagascar*) was formed and the whole island divided amongst the seven missions.

The following resolution of the Joint Conference held in Tananarive in 1913 states the basis upon which the meetings of the Conference took place :

> We are met together as representatives of seven missionary societies working in the Island of Madagascar for the extension of the kingdom of God. Coming, as we do, from all the different Christian communions, other than Roman Catholic, which are represented in this island, we differ widely in our church organization and in our methods of presenting Christian truth. Nevertheless, we recognize one another as brethren in Christ, and we are working, each in his own way, for the uplifting of our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God and the Saviour of Mankind. We reverently acknowledge Him as our common Master, and together we worship Him as the Divine Lord of Glory.
>
> We desire His blessing on our gatherings. We seek, for ourselves and for one another, that spirit of mutual forbearance and love, that sense of humble dependence on our Heavenly Father, that sensitiveness to the leading of His Holy Spirit, which shall enable us in all our deliberations worthily to magnify His Holy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The native Christian churches of the London Missionary Society and the Friends' Mission have since the year 1868 been united in a six-monthly meeting (*Isan-enim-bolana*). The churches of the Paris Society are also in this union. This common organization has done much in the upbuilding of the churches and the spread of the Gospel, and for many years has been the native missionary society and has sent native missionaries to the unevangelized districts in the northern part of the island. The Malagasy churches have always realized that upon them lies the primary responsibility for the support and control of Christian work. The principles of self-support, self-government and self-propagation are clearly recognized. On the occasion of the visit of the deputations in 1913 the pastors of the commune of Tananarive presented to the foreign delegates an address from which the following is an extract :

> We want you to know that we earnestly desire our churches to become independent—that is self-supporting. It is natural for young people to want to set up housekeeping for themselves, and it is the same with the Church. The near approach of the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of missionaries amongst us makes our heart all aglow with the desire for the independence of

our churches. There is no day which we should more like to see than that on which we shall go with the last missionary to the railway station. On that day we shall overflow with joy and sorrow, and our laughter will mingle with our tears.

But, in spite of one hundred years' successful work in Madagascar and of the full co-operation of the different societies and the Malagasy churches, the Christian forces in the island are very unequally distributed and a large portion of the island is still unevangelized. The conference held in 1913 was faced with the facts disclosed in the following statistics :

MISSIONARY OCCUPATION OF MADAGASCAR

Territory.	Superficial Area.	Population.	Missionaries (excluding wives).
Tananarive (Imerina) .	4,700 square miles	494,626	47
Fianarantsoa (Betsileo) .	14,000 ,,	298,087	12
Remaining Territory .	296,164 ,,	2,695,139	101
Tananarive . . .	One missionary for every 10,524 of the population		
Fianarantsoa . . .	,, ,, 24,840 ,, ,,		
Remainder . . .	,, ,, 26,950 ,, ,,		
Tananarive . . .	One missionary for every 100 square miles		
Fianarantsoa . . .	,, ,, 1,166 ,,		
Remainder . . .	,, ,, 2,961 ,,		

Since 1913 but little has been done to rectify this state of affairs. The Friends have opened a new mission amongst the Sakalava tribe in the west. The Congregational Churches of Wales connected with the London Missionary Society propose to celebrate the centenary by providing funds necessary to re-establish a former mission of that society in the Antsihanaka country in the north and to maintain a strong, well-staffed and properly equipped work in that part of the island. Throughout the century the connexion between Wales and Madagascar has been very close, and the proposal to undertake this enterprise is arousing great enthusiasm in the churches of the Principality.

PRESENT POSITION, AND METHODS OF WORK

In so far as the results of one hundred years of missionary effort can be measured by statistics, the following figures relating to the non-Roman societies will give some indication of the present position. There were in 1918 164 missionaries in the island, 2510 churches and evangelistic centres, 963 pastors, 6694 preachers and evangelists, 74,817 church members, 449,126 adherents, 2125 Sunday schools with 78,347 Sunday school scholars, 376 mission day schools, with 527 teachers and 24,373 scholars. There is a hospital in Tananarive carried on jointly by the Friends and the London Missionary Society.

(*a*) NATIVE AGENCY. In such a widespread work it is obvious that very extensive use has to be made of native agency. The missionary superintends the working of a mission district, containing often as many as fifty churches, and supervises the labours of the native pastors, evangelists and school teachers. The problem of an adequate supply of trained native pastors has always been a difficult one. The London Missionary Society in 1869 founded a theological college in Tananarive for the education of the native ministry, and in 1910 the Friends' Mission became a partner in this enterprise. For the last fifty years a steady stream of well-trained consecrated young men have gone forth from this college to take charge of the churches. Many of them have been men of outstanding ability with a good knowledge of English and French as well as of Malagasy. Provision has been made in the pastoral schools for the training of pastors who have not received a college education. These schools are conducted by a missionary for two days every fortnight, and the full course extends over two years. The need for a well-trained and adequately supported pastorate is being increasingly recognized by the Malagasy churches.

(*b*) CHURCH ORGANIZATION. The church organization in Madagascar, with the exception of that of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is a kind of modified Presbyterianism. The churches of the three missions associated in the *Isan-enim-bolana* are grouped together in four ways : the *Isan-kerin-taona* (Yearly Meeting) represents all the churches associated with one mission and deals with matters which are common to all the churches of the mission ; the *Isan-efa-bolana* (Four-monthly Meeting) comprises a group of churches of one mission—generally from twelve to eighteen in number—and deals with the affairs of these churches, the confirmation of the appointment of pastors and other matters especially concerning those churches; the *Loha-volana* (Monthly Meeting) comprises a group of churches generally connected with one mission which meets for united worship and prayer on the first Monday in each month ; the *Isan-enim-bolana* (Six-monthly Meeting) already referred to, which comprises all the churches in Imerina connected with the London Mission, the Friends' Mission and the Paris Mission. It is the supreme court of appeal on all matters connected with these churches and is also the native missionary society. The gatherings of the *Isan-enim-bolana* in the capital in April and October bring together a great multitude of representatives from the churches of these missions, both in the capital and in the country, and many of the largest church buildings are crowded for two days of services and meetings.

(*c*) Mission Education. Prior to M. Augagneur's repressive action in 1907 about 200,000 children were in the mission elementary schools and a fairly good day school system was in operation. There is no doubt that the action then taken was a very serious blow to Christian work. In order to counteract this disaster Sunday school work has been greatly improved and developed in recent years ; graded lessons are issued every month for Sunday school teachers ; Scripture classes have been started for children and young people, and every effort has been made to make the united Sunday schools really efficient by means of teachers' preparation classes, Sunday school examinations and otherwise. The number of Sunday schools and Sunday school scholars has considerably increased during the last twelve years. Several of the missions have very efficient and successful high schools for boys and girls.

(*d*) BIBLE CIRCULATION AND NATIVE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE. From the time of the great persecution the circulation of the Bible and Scripture portions has played a very important part in the Christian propaganda. Colporteurs are engaged in this work, and in the capital there is an active native Bible society. Several missions have successful printing presses, monthly and quarterly magazines are issued in large quantities, school books, catechisms, hymn-books, tracts, sermons, Bible dictionaries and commentatories, an excellent concordance, church histories and many other books are very widely circulated, and an extensive Christian literature has been provided.

The result of the Christian work of the last hundred years is to be seen on every hand, especially in the central province of Imerina. From the highest ridge of Tananarive it is said that in the clear sunshine the towers and steeples of 200 churches can be seen with the help of a field glass, and that 150 can be distinguished with the naked eye. For the most part these churches are full on Sunday, often to overflowing. In connexion with many of them all the usual activities of the churches of the homelands are to be found : Sunday schools, Dorcas meetings, societies of Christian Endeavour and Bible classes are carried on. In Madagascar, to a greater extent perhaps than in any other mission field, is to be found the Christian home. The Madagascar Church is a praying church. It has come through great tribulations and has emerged purer and stronger from its trials. It enters on the second century of its existence full of hope and enthusiasm, and it calls on its sister churches in all parts of the world to join with it in thanksgiving to God for all that He has wrought during the last hundred years.

F. H. HAWKINS

THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY ON THE MISSION FIELD

By Mrs SINCLAIR STEVENSON, M.A., Sc.D.

III. A HINDU'S LIFE-STORY

In the old days political economy used to be called the most inhuman of all the sciences, for it strung all its theories on to some hypothetical being, whose only quality seemed acquisitiveness; since then it has discovered that, in order to be a real science, it must deal with humanity as it is. In the same way we no longer think of the noble savage living in a state of nature; we are in far greater danger of thinking too exclusively of the very unideal savage living in Central Australia.

What we want to do in our study of social anthropology on the mission field is to get to know and love and sympathize with one human being. We shall find him or her astonishingly like ourselves, with the same lovable funny ways of remembering and forgetting, loving and hating, enjoying and fearing. The more you have learnt to get outside your own self, to laugh at and understand your own foibles and superstitions, above all, the more you remember your own childhood and your own old nurse and her sayings, the easier you will find it to understand the full humanity of a member of another race.

This time let us take as our study the *Life-story of a Hindu*, remembering to think of him as a friend and a most lovable one, and trying to see what the various experiences he passes through teach us of his outlook on life.

Beginning with his birth, ask about:

Pre-natal ceremonies.

Precautions (what is an expectant mother allowed, and what is she forbidden, to do).

Omens, good and bad.
The birth-chamber.
The position of the bed. The dress of the young mother.
The mid-wife (caste—presents—privileges).
Remedies.
Vows.
Liability of the mother to the attacks of evil: how is she guarded?
Necessity for iron or steel.
Announcement of birth.
The baby—how guarded, washed, fed, clothed.
The horoscope.
Birthday superstitions.
Purification of mother—note the various stages through which she passes on her way back to complete ceremonial purity.

Then pass on to his babyhood, with its appropriate ceremonies—sixth day and similar rites, name-giving (collecting all the interesting beliefs about names that you can), sun-viewing, weaning, hair-cutting, ear-boring, teething; until finally your friend is old enough to be sent to school.

Soon you will approach the fascinating ceremonies that gather round the child's second birth, if he belong to one of the twice-born castes, the giving of the sacred thread (note if the ceremony does or does not coincide with puberty); get particulars of the vigil, the last meal with his mother, the young men's feast, the cord and all its symbolism, its donning, the symbolic gifts, the new name, the catechism, the circumambulation, the secret *mantra*, the offering to fire, begging, the bath, the mimic journey, rules of conduct that govern the novice at each stage.

After you have got your friend to lecture to you and explain the various rites and ceremonies that accompany initiation, he will probably obtain an invitation for you to witness it all at the house of a friend; and if you take your notebook, you can correct all your impressions with him next day.

But whatever other invitation you do or do not get, you are almost certain, before you have been very long in the country, to be asked to see an Indian wedding. Do remember to 'do your prep.' before you go, otherwise you will get lost, bored and bewildered by heat, noise, dust, tom-tomming and confusion.

Remember the enormous importance in India of a wedding, for it is the stronghold of caste. Men can believe what they like and remain in caste; they can even dine on forbidden things and with forbidden people and keep it dark; but once they marry out of caste, they have committed the unpardonable sin.

If we studied the pre-natal ceremonies carefully, we must have noticed the pathetic strength of the desire for a son. That desire is even more marked in the marriage ceremonies, and if we keep this in mind, it will give us a clue to the understanding of many of the nuptial rites.

But before you begin to study the wedding, get clearly into your head what the actual bride and bridegroom are supposed to represent, whether:

A king and queen.
A god and goddess.
A divine ascetic and his wife.

Their *rôle* will differ according to their caste, and you will miss half the symbolism unless you understand what it connotes.

If it is a Brāhman wedding to which you are invited, fix your attention on ten chief points: feet-washing, honey-sipping, rice-throwing, date-naming, present-making, clothes-donning, bride-giving, oath-taking, seven steps, common meal. Once you have gripped those, you will be free another time to watch all the pretty little symbolic acts which accentuate how much we of the West have in common with Indian thought, merry or serious.

We must not stay to notice here all the other events which might befall an Indian, and all his occasional rites and sacrifices in times of childlessness, disease, war or famine, but must pass on to study that great event for which all his life has been but a preparation. From the moment of his birth to his last illness, the one sure thing in a world of insecurity has been the certainty that death will befall him; and the uncertainty as to what will happen after death haunts every man in a land where death, through famine, plague or cholera, may come with horrifying swiftness.

We may be sure that we are trying to enter into a Hindu's deepest thinking when we try reverently to understand his beliefs about death.

There are two distinct strata in his thoughts which to us would seem contradictory, but both of which practically every Hindu holds. One of these explains that longing for a son as his only saviour which influences every action of his family life; and the other depends on Karma, the belief in the accumulated energy of past acts that colours all his thinking.

Keeping these two clues in mind, note:

Preparations for death, warnings, omens, etc.
Last gifts—last hours.

Then see what is done to the corpse itself, how the funeral procession is carried out, what part is played by the widow.

Of course the disposal of the body, whether by burial or cremation, is of great importance; and be sure to look out for all the little details: if it is a burial, who buries; if a cremation, of what the pyre is composed, and who lights it.

Then, after the funeral, study the offerings and the object with which they are made: whether to help the soul on its journey, or to accomplish its union with its ancestors. The best way is *to map out a calendar* and see exactly what is done on the first day after the death, on the second, the third and so forth; and whilst watching the offerings and the ceremonies, don't forget to observe also the stages through which the family of the dead man passes on its way back from ceremonial defilement to complete ceremonial purity. You will see how nearness of kin to the dead deepens the defilement and so takes longer to purge away ; and note also how defilement affects worship, food, clothing and family life generally. All the time that you are working, keep on asking yourself : What light does all this throw on beliefs concerning life after death, judgment, heaven, hell, re-birth, caste, widows and the unhappy dead ?

When you have finished your studies in a Hindu's life-story, run over it in your mind and try and see what main lines of thought it all points to. Does it seem to you that Hinduism 'is committed to progress,' that it is fitted to bring all the relationships of human life to their highest and noblest development ?

IV. A VISIT TO A HINDU TEMPLE

We have all of us heard *ad nauseam* of the difficulty, nay the impossibility, of understanding anything about Hinduism—that (how does the good old *cliché* run ?) 'impenetrable jungle of all possible beliefs.'

Well, the present writer has been trying to urge that it is possible to study the feasts and fasts, the rites and ceremonies of a Hindu even before you feel qualified to study his philosophy.

Two points in especial she has urged : to 'do your prep.' before you go to see anything, and, if it be an elaborate rite extending over several days, such as birth, initiation, death or funeral ceremonies, to make a calendar and jot down what happens to everybody on the first, second, third and following days.

In this article she would like to give a third hint—*draw maps, plans and diagrams* of anything and everything. If you visit a friend's house, draw a plan of it, noting where the kitchen, the dining-room, the private chapel, storeroom and birth-chamber are. If you are actually allowed to see your friend's private chapel (which may be only a shelf or a cupboard) draw a plan of it, showing where each god is placed. A similar plan of the kitchen and the position of the hearth will be found of endless use. In your plan of the house don't forget to enter the names of the various gods which preside over each separate door, beam, threshold or hearth. Note which way the house faces, and find out the reason. In the same way draw a map of every little town or village you visit, and observe the positions of shrines and temples. Ask which are the lucky and unlucky quarters, and mark in the position of such things as the children's cemetery, the burning *ghāt*, the *dhobi's* washing-place, the place for the Holi bonfire. You will find it easy, too, to get information as to which is the Brāhman quarter, which the merchants', and where the Bhil and Koli houses are; and then observe which temples and shrines are in the Brāhman, and which in the other localities.

You will soon learn what to expect, and will look out for certain deities at the river bank, others at the town hall, differing ones again at the entrance to the town, at the palace gates or at the meeting-place of four roads. Any deviation will imprint itself on your memory, and by comparing your plan of one city or village with another you will find that you have taken a shrine census of your district. (The writer only wishes that she had thought of taking such a census earlier in her missionary career!)

Don't miss any chance of seeing a temple. Never mind how often you have seen temples of that particular cult before: you are certain to learn some new fact, however small, at each shrine you enter, and you may almost by accident stumble on some detail that illuminates the whole of your previous work and makes all the pieces of information you have acquired fit together like an animated jig-saw puzzle. But supposing that you have never yet visited a temple, you may perhaps not despise a few hints.

Do you remember in Oxford how often you saw visitors to that much be-trippered city standing outside the gates of a college, scarcely daring to peer through at the green lawn that showed beyond the grey arch? Well, many people in

India are just as diffident of entering a temple, and of course you can't tell what the etiquette of your particular locality is until you try; but the writer has never found any lack of welcome in her own district.

You must have a pair of holeless stockings, some knowledge of the vernacular and charming manners; but armed with these, you can enter anywhere!

Having noted in your town plan where the particular temple you wish to visit is situated, go up to it, knock at the entrance door, and entering the courtyard, remove your shoes and make friends with the first priest you meet. Even if it is not absolutely necessary, take your shoes off; that is an outward and visible sign which any Indian can read that you are visiting the temple in the spirit of sympathy.

Explain to the priest exactly what you want to see, and if you are writing a book, or even an article for your home magazine, tell him so. After all, there is really no reason why you should not sometimes try and write an interesting letter for your home paper; even the most devout lover of missions can grow restive on a continual diet of prize-givings or interesting orphans. Better still, if you are working at a thesis for a degree, confide that fact also, and the priest, who is sure to share the national love of an examination, will take endless pains to help you.

Well, turn to a fresh page of your notebook and make a new plan, marking in the position of the temple or temples within the courtyard (look out for the worship of any differing sect, e.g., in a Śiva temple note especially a Viṣṇu shrine), and also priests' houses; guest houses; sacred trees, if any, with broken idols under them; *tulasī* plants, *bilva* trees; subsidiary shrines to Hanumān, Smallpox, etc.; look round for any snake stones and the stone footprints of any saints. If it be a Jaina temple you are studying, note the presence of any Hindu gods or goddesses. If it be a Hindu temple, look out for any local deity—a famous cow, for instance, or a local *guru*.

Now come to the main temple, and before ascending the steps, ask permission to do so. As a matter of fact, it is a good idea never to move anywhere without asking permission twice, for that rules out the chance of misapprehensions. Arrived at the plinth, make a third plan on a bigger scale, marking in the position of bells, drums, rubbing-board, water-course, gods guarding doorway, gods outside shrine, gods over lintel and gods to left and right of doorway, bull and tortoise. Then move forward, being very careful, of course, that your dress does not touch any thing, and that you do not get in the way of any worshipper.

Draw a diagram of the inner shrine; for instance, in a Vaiṣṇava temple, mark in the gods on the shelf and the objects on the shelves in front of them; in a Śaiva temple, show the position of the *linga* and *yoni* on the floor and gods and goddesses around the walls; and in both cases take careful note of all pictures and decorations.

By this time you are probably tired out, and once you are tired, the edges of your observation are blunted; so only stay to ask the priest at what hours worship is offered to the gods, and when you may come and see it, and then go home and rest. On your second day you can arrange your visit so as to be present at either morning or evening worship. Of course the number of times that worship is offered differs with the particular sect that you are studying, but speaking generally, the writer has found that she is more cordially welcomed at either the morning worship (about eight or nine) or the evening worship, which is offered when the first star appears, than at the midday service.

Another point: as a matter of experience, the writer has never found it answer to go on a third successive day to the same temple. Go for two successive days, if you like, and then wait a month, after which you may go again, notebook in hand, to run over your record, and you will be welcomed like an old friend.

Well, supposing you are setting out for your second day's visit, make up your mind to notice in particular ten points :

How often is worship offered ?

Who performs the worship (a priest or a layman) ?

In what does the worship consist, e.g., in bathing and decorating the idol, clothing or unclothing it, putting it to bed or getting it up, and offering it food ?

If food be offered, who eats it : laity, priest, menial or a special class of mendicants ? This point should be asked in a Jaina as well as a Hindu temple. What change does the food offered undergo ? What new name is given to mark this changed food (Prasāda, Nirmālya, etc.) ?

What is done with the other offerings : who removes the flowers, etc., and where they are placed ? Notice any special fear of treading on them.

What part is given to mental worship ? Is it regarded as the salt of the service, or is it ignored altogether ?

What is the ordinary worshipper allowed and not allowed to do ?

Who may enter the inner shrine, and what clothes does he who enters it wear ? If special clothes are donned, where are these kept ?

What are the rules as to appearing empty-handed before the god ? What happens to any money the worshipper may have in his pocket, or any sweets he is holding in his hands ?

What part are women allowed to take in the ceremonies ?

After you have finished your talk about what happens every day, lead the priest on to tell you about the special worship that is offered to the god :

On his birthday.

During his particular month.

After his return from *Pātāla.*

When is he taken out in procession : who takes part in that procession ?

What special powers has he (if any) over sickness ? Who vows to him and how are the vows paid up ?

What is his relationship to rain, and what is done to him in time of famine ?

What is his power over crops, and how are first-fruits offered ?

Gradually, as the priest talks, you will gather whether it is a god to be feared and placated, or a more human god to be loved and brought into close contact with daily life.

During the month's interval that elapses before your third visit, go over all your notes with your pandits at home and collect all the legends you can about the gods in the temples you are visiting. In particular ask:

Why Viṣṇu is worshipped under the form of the Śālagrāma.
Why Śiva is represented by a linga and not an idol.
Why Brahmā is never worshipped.

Then, when you go back, correlate these legends to the differing worship offered in the different temples.

As yet you have asked nothing about circumambulation, and almost every shrine is circumambulated in a special way, some by half a circle, some by two, three or more. Notice what you may or may not tread on or over (e.g. the water-course in a Śiva temple); between what objects you must not pass (e.g. between the linga and the bull, unless the tortoise be present).

Then you have to find out all that is done if an idol is broken or injured. Can it be repaired? If not, where is it deposited (in the sea, or under a sacred tree)?

And finally, you can sit and have a long chat with the priest about all that is done when a new temple is built: how the ground is hallowed, how the foundations are laid, how idols are made, and how they are consecrated, life imparted to them, and their eyes opened (and don't forget to ask where the priest stands when the idol's eyes are uncovered).

There are some very interesting facts, too, to be learnt as to how the idol is placed in position. Is it lowered through the roof, or brought through the doorway? I have suggested that you direct your catechism to the priest (poor man!), but you may find, especially in a Jaina temple, that you sometimes get more help from a layman. It not infrequently happens that the laity realize the difficulties of their religion more easily than the hierarchy.

And now we must take our leave of the earnest student, who has so patiently endured all these dry lists (' instruction sore, long time he bore!'), merely suggesting that for future study there are all the hosts of village gods and godlings, mother-goddesses, agricultural superstitions, ascetics, monasteries and nunneries, omens, funeral monuments and what not. Perhaps these are enough to begin with, and if you desire further suggestions, you will find a long list in the *Notes and Queries* already mentioned, and in the *Handbook* issued by the Folk-Lore Society.

One thing is certain : once you have begun to study the life and thought around you, you will never lose the habit, and some day you will realize the satisfying joy of knowing that you, even you, have on some tiny point pushed back the frontier of knowledge by tracking some unsuspected fact to its lair. Good-bye and good hunting !

MARGARET STEVENSON

ACTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

BEARING ON THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

It is proposed in this and subsequent numbers of the Review to publish in a special section under this title the relevant paragraphs of the most important treaties, public acts and documents bearing on the work of Christian missions.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS AND GERMANY

SIGNED AT VERSAILLES, JUNE 28, 1919

Article 22

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant [of the League of Nations].

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observances of the mandates.

ARTICLES 119 AND 122

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions.

The Government exercising authority over such territories may make such provision as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation from them of German nationals and to the conditions upon which German subjects of European origin shall, or shall not, be allowed to reside, hold property, trade or exercise a profession in them.

ARTICLE 438

The Allied and Associated Powers agree that where Christian religious missions were being maintained by German societies or persons in territory belonging to them, or of which the government is entrusted to them in accordance with the present Treaty, the property which these missions or missionary societies possessed, including that of trading societies whose profits were devoted to the support of missions, shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes. In order to ensure the due execution of this undertaking the Allied and Associated Governments will hand over such property to boards of trustees appointed by or approved by the Governments and composed of persons holding the faith of the mission whose property is involved.

The Allied and Associated Governments, while continuing to maintain full control as to the individuals by whom the missions are conducted, will safeguard the interests of such missions.

Germany, taking note of the above undertaking, agrees to accept all arrangements made or to be made by the Allied or Associated Government concerned for carrying on the work of the said missions or trading societies and waive all claims on their behalf.

GENERAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE OF BERLIN

SIGNED FEBRUARY 26, 1885.

Article I. The trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom—

1. In all the regions forming the basin of the Congo and its outlets. This basin is bounded by the watersheds (or mountain ridges) of the adjacent basins, namely, in particular, those of the Niari, the Ogowé, the Schari, and the Nile, on the north; and by the eastern watershed line of the affluents of Lake Tanganyika on the east; and by the watersheds of the basins of the Zambesi and the Logé on the south. It therefore comprises all the regions watered by the Congo and its affluents, including Lake Tanganyika, with its eastern tributaries.

2. In the maritime zone extending along the Atlantic Ocean from the parallel situated in 2° 30′ of south latitude to the Logé.

The northern boundary will follow the parallel situated in 2° 30′ from the coast to the point where it meets the geographical basin of the Congo, avoiding the basin of the Ogowé, to which the provisions of the present Act do not apply.

The southern boundary will follow the course of the Logé to its source, and thence pass eastwards till it joins the geographical basin of the Congo.

3. In the zone stretching eastwards from the Congo Basin as above defined, to the Indian Ocean from 5 degrees of north latitude to the mouth of the Zambesi in the south, from which point the line of demarcation will ascend the Zambesi to 5 miles above its confluence with the Shiré, and then follow the watershed between the affluents of Lake Nyassa and those of the Zambesi, till at last it reaches the watershed between the waters of the Zambesi and the Congo.

It is expressly recognized that in extending the principle of free trade to this eastern zone, the Conference Powers only undertake engagements for themselves, and that in the territories belonging to an independent Sovereign State this principle shall only be applicable in so far as it is approved by such State. But the Powers agree to use their good offices with the Governments established on the African shore of the Indian Ocean for the purpose of obtaining such approval, and in any case of securing the most favourable conditions to the transit (traffic) of all nations.

Article VI. All the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the slave trade. They shall, without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favour all religious, scientific or charitable institutions, and undertakings created and organized for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization.

Christian missionaries, scientists and explorers, with their followers, property, and collections, shall likewise be the objects of especial protection.

Freedom of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the natives, no less than to subjects and to foreigners. The free and public exercise of all forms of divine worship, and the right to build edifices for religious purposes, and to organize religious missions belonging to all creeds, shall not be limited or fettered in any way whatsoever.

CONVENTION REVISING THE GENERAL ACT OF BERLIN, February 26, 1885, and the GENERAL ACT AND DECLARATION OF BRUSSELS, July 2, 1890

SIGNED AT SAINT-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE, SEPTEMBER 10, 1919

Article III. In the territories specified in Article I [i.e. the area defined by Article I of the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885] and placed under the authority of one of the Signatory Powers, the nationals of those Powers, or of States, Members of the League of Nations, which may adhere to the present Convention shall, subject only to the limitations necessary for the maintenance of public security and order, enjoy without distinction the same treatment and the same rights as the nationals of the Power exercising authority in the territory, with regard to the protection of their persons and effects, with regard to the acquisition and transmission of their movable and real property, and with regard to the exercise of their professions.

Article XI. The Signatory Powers exercising sovereign rights or authority in African territories will continue to watch over the preservation of the native populations and to supervise the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being. They will, in particular, endeavour to secure the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea.

They will protect and favour, without distinction of nationality or of religion, the religious, scientific or charitable institutions and undertakings created and organized by the nationals of the other Signatory Powers and of States, Members of the League of Nations, which may adhere to the present Convention, which aim at leading the natives in the path of progress and civilization. Scientific missions, their property and their collections, shall likewise be the objects of special solicitude.

Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of religion are expressly guaranteed to all nationals of the Signatory Powers and to those under the jurisdiction of States, Members of the League of Nations, which may become parties to the present Convention. Similarly, missionaries shall have the right to enter into, and to travel and reside in, African territory with a view to prosecuting their calling.

The application of the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs shall be subject only to such restrictions as may be necessary for the maintenance of public security and order, or as may result from the enforcement of the constitutional law of any of the Powers exercising authority in African territories.

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND PORTUGAL,

DEFINING THE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OF THE TWO COUNTRIES IN AFRICA (1891)

Article X. In all territories in East and Central Africa belonging to or under the influence of either Power, missionaries of both countries shall have full protection. Religious toleration and freedom for all forms of divine worship and religious teaching are guaranteed.

TREATIES BETWEEN CHINA AND WESTERN POWERS

Treaty between France and China (1851), *Article XIII.* La religion Chrétienne, ayant pour objet essentiel, de porter les hommes à la vertu, les membres de toutes communions Chrétiennes jouiront d'une entière sécurité pour leurs personnes, leurs propriétés, et le libre exercice de leurs pratiques religieuses ; et une protection efficace sera donnée aux missionnaires qui se rendront pacifiquement dans l'intérieur du pays, munis des passeports réguliers dont il est parlé dans l'Article VIII. Aucune entrave ne sera apportée par les autorités de l'Empire Chinois au droit qui est reconnu à tout individu en Chine d'embrasser, s'il le veut, le Christianisme et d'en suivre les pratiques, sans être passible d'aucune peine infligée pour ce fait. Tout ce qui a été précédemment écrit, proclamé, ou publié en Chine par ordre du gouvernment contre le culte Chrétien, est complètement abrogé, et reste sans valeur dans toutes les provinces de l'Empire.

Treaty between Great Britain and China (*Tientsin*) 1858, *Article VIII. Religious Freedom in China.* The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with.

Treaty between China and U.S.A. (1903), *Article XIV*. The principles of the Christian religion as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches are recognized as teaching men to do good and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practises principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested therefor. No restrictions shall be placed on Chinese joining Christian Churches. Converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China, and shall pay due respect to those in authority, living together in peace and amity; and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offence they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into the Church, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally, except taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities make any distinction between converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality, so that both classes can live together in peace.

Missionary societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity, as the property of such societies, buildings or lands in all parts of the Empire for missionary purposes, and, after the title deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A STUDY OF AMERICAN MISSIONARY PROPAGANDA

World Survey. Foreign Volume and a Statistical Mirror. The Interchurch World Movement of North America. New York: Interchurch Press. 1920.

A Better World. By Tyler Dennett. New York: George H. Doran. 1920.

The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War. Report of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. New York: Association Press. 1920.

It is a thousand pities that there is not much more exchange of thought between the supporters of missions here and in the United States. The keenest missionary workers in America have not heard of our best books, and we do not know theirs. The result is serious. It means that while our leaders are ' getting together,' the constituencies are definitely drifting apart, they are less and less able to appreciate the others' point of view and to appropriate what is best in the others' ideas. An attempt must be made to provide for conference with regard to the home propaganda and educational ideals of the missionary agencies of both countries. But even without such a formal conference much can be done and our appeal can be greatly enriched and strengthened if we, rank and file and lesser leaders, will give more attention to studying one another's books and other propaganda and to frank exchange of thought upon them.

These thoughts are suggested by the study of three new books which stand at the head of this review and represent in a systematic and definite way, and at three very different angles, the thought and outlook of American missionary propaganda to-day.

Broadly the three represent the appeal of the kingdom of God to a post-war generation in its geographical (or statistical) aspect, its political aspect and its spiritual aspect respectively. They are as different in their approach and style and material as three general books on missionary duty can be. All three bear the impress of American character and temperament and are thoroughly typical and representative productions, and each in its style and for its purpose is extremely well done. To read them in this order is to follow the American missionary mind from its circumference spirally to its innermost circle. And it is good to find that though on the outer circle of geographical and statistical appeal an English mind follows with difficulty, some tepidity and not a little confusion, winding inwards to the heart of the thing one's pace quickens till, in some passages of Mr Dennett's book and in many passages in the *Missionary Outlook*, one feels instinctively 'They are saying, more strikingly than we, the very things that must be said to every man and woman in these days.'

Let us look at the books *seriatim*, moving as we said from the circumference towards the centre.

The World Survey is a kind of quintessence of the geographical and statistical appeal of missions to-day. And it is extremely well and elaborately executed. It is by far the most complete and striking missionary speakers' handbook we have ever seen. Its diagrams pass all imagining (at least to an Englishman), and some of them pass his understanding too. Here is an array, if not a marshalling, of facts and figures and statistics in every conceivable department of the subject, which the genius and the unique organization of the Interchurch World Movement (with its survey organization of seven departments and forty-one divisions) has assembled, presented in vivid diagrammatic and pictorial fashion. It would be hopeless to indicate their range and diversity, for they cover the whole broad mission field and also every conceivable kind of fact relating to the church life of the 'two hundred and one religious bodies' in the United States, among which, however, Christian Science and the like are apparently not included (see pp. 168–9).

Now really and at heart this volume seeks to represent one of the deepest and most enduring motives of missions—the appeal of multitudes scattered on the mountains as sheep having no shepherd. It hands you field-glasses to cover the whole earth that you may look upon the fields white unto harvest. It bids you examine effects and causes and tells you to balance claims. You will keep on turning its pages, and yet an Englishman is left wondering sadly why, though it interests, it does not move him more. He wonders whether after all you can increase pity and self-giving love by merely multiplying its deserving objects by thousands or by millions. The trouble is that our hearts are so hard, so selfish, so preoccupied that one tearful child does not really move us—

let alone the hundred millions. Is it not a new *quality* rather than quantity of life and love we need?

And then there is another problem of mere statistics. How far can they ever really represent spiritual life? In the practical sphere of missions, we all know the one missionary whose influence outweighs forty and reaches further. We know the one convert worth all the rest. We think wonderingly of the one more precious than the ninety and nine 'just persons who need no repentance' and who for that reason no doubt appear upon the church and mission roll. Then we think of the varying conditions and requirements of the different fields and of the different elements and problems in each—of 'mass movements' and 'steady progress' and 'individual conversions' and 'leavening thought'—the glorious wealth of missionary experience. And we realize how each fresh generation of missionaries has to rethink its problems and readjust its methods to its task. And then we feel that we have some justification for our hesitation in responding to the appeal of massed missionary statistics, reduced inevitably to common denominators and uniform formulæ and presented without their background and without allowance for those human (and divine) factors which are always greater than any other facts. Then we think that possibly after all American propaganda might be enriched by the British point of view while we freely admit how sorely our British advocacy lacks the vivacity, the definiteness, the elaboration, the directness—in an American word, the '*punch*'—for which our American brethren have unique genius.

In Mr Dennett's book *A Better World* we are conscious at once of a community of thought and purpose. He is saying just what we want to say. He is arguing that missionary people—that is those who believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is for all people, that in it lies the world's only hope—are pre-eminently those who should bring light into the present darkness, order to confusion, hope and faith to disillusionment. And he is summoning those who would preach the Gospel to all nations to apply it to all problems and especially to those great problems of the present hour—to establishing a new order of international relationship and new standards of human life.

The thing needs saying. But it is not easy to say it to most of us at least who are somewhat wearied with handbooks—especially admonitative handbooks—about how to make the world better.

But Mr Dennett soon gets interesting and compels our attention, and he handles his subject with breadth of view, a wealth of historical knowledge and with real insight into European politics. His chapter on ‘ The League and the Changing World ’ is particularly valuable. He argues that the hope of the League lies in its recognizing that it has, and will have, to do with a world which is moving, not static. And his statement of how Christianity itself is constantly moving (in the geographical sense), how countries become Christian and by no means permanently remain so, presents a very striking challenge to prayer and faith, and to what will be to many of us a new view of things. His description of the progress to the front of those hitherto called the ‘ backward races ’ is very well done, though of course neither as lurid nor as complete in its argument as in some other books, outside missionary publications, which we have seen, like Mr Lothrop Stoddart’s *The Rising Tide of Colour* and Mr Madison Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race.*

With Mr Dennett’s description of the influence of Christianity in Europe during the war we feel less comfortable, though we are conscious of his sincerity and of his desire to be fair. We think too that an immense amount has to be done to think out the relations and the inter-penetrations of Christianity and democracy (as understood to-day), and we do not feel that Mr Dennett has carried his analysis far enough. He pleads, and with iteration, that Christian churches should hang over their doors ‘ This church exists that the world may be free ’ ; while, if we must resort to epigrams, many of us would feel it would be truer to say ‘ The church exists that the world may be fit to be free.’ But he hurries through this section as though conscious that here he is on thin ice, and in the remaining sections of the book he is again most interesting, for he is up against the acutest, the largest and yet the most practically urgent problems of the world—wrestling to find footholds, handholds, points of attack, and always bringing a virile and active Christian spirit and outlook to bear upon them : race, nationality, colour, international industry, armaments, progressive theology, Christian unity, nationalism, the new patriotism. Mr Dennett is surely not lacking in courage—and we all love to follow a brave leader—nor is he lacking in grip. He does not vaporize these things. Essentially he makes them actual. And he wants to know what we are going to do about them. The book would, we think, be more powerful if he stopped there and stepped back as before a great darkness and summoned all to bring all we know of light to bear upon these problems. For when he suggests solutions and methods ready to hand as though he or the Interchurch World Movement or anybody else knows just what to do, we shrink back instinctively, as though the advice were too good (and too easy) to be true.

Space does not allow of our doing any spacial justice to the third book; and it is not one which invites criticism: it deserves to be read. For most missionary workers it will be adequate introduction to say that the book has been compiled by a Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook presided over by Dr Robert E. Speer and having among its members men like Bishop Roots, Dr J. R. Mott, Professor Shailer Mathews, Dr Fosdick and President Henry Churchill King. It is a composite production in which no less than thirty writers share, missionaries and missionary secretaries for the most part, each of them having special knowledge of the subject with which they deal. The theme is well indicated by the titles of the three main sections, ‘ The Enhanced Significance and Urgency of Foreign Missions in the Light of the War,’ ‘ The Effect of the War on the Religious Outlook in Various Lands ’ and ‘ Missionary Principles and Policies in the Light of the War.’ Each of these great themes is broken up into component parts, topical, geographical and psychological, the parts being dealt with in separate chapters.

Here on this central ground the Englishman identifies himself wholeheartedly with the purpose and scope of the book, and is conscious of motives moving in every chapter kindred to his own. The dissimilarity of treatment and of argument is therefore all the more striking and worth studying. The American likes to survey, to cover the ground. The Britisher tends to analysis, he feels safer digging. The American finds inspiration in the bigness of his task. The Englishman wants to make sure that his ‘ bit ’ is commensurate with his resources. The American is moved by the hope of success. The Britisher is at his best when things look hopeless. That perhaps is why Englishmen sometimes feel that American Christianity is apt to miss the Cross and why it would be fair for Americans to retort that we miss the Resurrection.

To state these differences is only to indicate how complementary are our temperaments and our missionary outlooks and how much might be gained by a larger synthesis in our missionary appeal and propaganda—and meanwhile how important it is that we should read one another's books and that somebody should make the best American literature more generally accessible to us and similarly ours to the American missionary public.

T. R. W. Lunt

London

GEORGE ALFRED LEFROY

The Life and Letters of George Alfred Lefroy, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan. By H. H. Montgomery, D.D., D.C.L. London: Longmans. 14s. net. 1920.

Bishop Montgomery has placed the Christian world under obligation to himself by completing this biography within a year after the death of Dr Lefroy. The chief source of material for the work was found in the late Bishop's home letters, of which the biographer has made abundant use. Dr Lefroy was an ideal correspondent. Apart from his letters, however, he left little of a literary character except sermons and occasional papers.

The Bishop had a great mother who dedicated him before his birth to the work of the Church abroad, and concerning whom he bore this witness: 'I owe more to my mother than to any other human influence of which I am conscious' (p. 5). His career in India covered about forty years, and naturally falls into two parts, the missionary at Delhi (1879–99) and the bishop at Lahore and Calcutta (1899–1918). One of the outstanding impressions made by the book is that of the reality and strength of Dr Lefroy's devotional life. This comes out in all his correspondence. In harmony with the rules of the Cambridge Brotherhood he observed certain fixed hours of prayer; but, beyond this, there is evidence of a habit of very naturally turning to God in prayer and thanksgiving on all sorts of occasions. Once after an evening of peculiar stress and anxiety there is mention of his continuing in solitary prayer until morning. In a very real sense he practised the presence of God. On the other hand, he was no solemn recluse but possessed a rich fund of humour, a priceless endowment for any missionary. At Delhi he was a great bazaar preacher and controversialist with the Mohammedans. As ever, his unfailing courtesy and sense of humour helped him over hard places, winning the admiration and regard of many of his antagonists and even the conversion of one who in the fierceness of his opposition was like Saul of Tarsus. The late Metropolitan was essentially an administrator and a man of affairs. And so, in harmony with his gifts, he was called to be member of the Delhi Municipal Committee, head of the Anglican missions in Delhi, Bishop of Lahore, Metropolitan of India and President of the National Missionary Council. Very notable, too, was his interest in the philanthropic and social applications of Christianity. He helped to establish soldiers' homes in the Panjab, he gave forth no uncertain messages on the subject of gambling and the traffic in opium and he contributed much towards raising the standard of purity in the army.

Among his contributions to the progress of the Anglican Church in India Bishop Lefroy helped in the founding of St Stephen's College, Delhi, encouraged the idea of a distinctively Indian Church—'the Church of India in communion with the Church of England'—favoured the ordination of the first Indian bishop, secured the appointment of the first Indian archdeacon at Lahore and contributed to the establishment of the separate diocese of Assam. But Bishop Lefroy was even more than this. He, in a very real sense, belonged to the Church Universal. He had, it is true, the strong convictions as to church government and order which characterize the High Church party, but at the same time he sought to understand the point of view of Christians outside his own communion and to enjoy such fellowship with them as seemed to him right and possible. At Lahore he regularly attended the missionary prayer meeting held at the house of the Principal of the Forman Christian College, and at Serampore he joined in a 'unity retreat' for 'devotional exercises' and for papers on the question, 'What do I mean by the Church?' One may detect a certain analogy between the missionary trying to find a common ground with the Mohammedans of Delhi, and the bishop at the 'unity retreat' seeking to do the same thing with his 'separated brethren.'

The late Metropolitan's greatest service to the Church at large in India was as President of the National Missionary Council. This body represents all the forces of organized Christianity in India and Burma except the Roman and Syrian Churches. As chairman of the Council from its beginning Dr Lefroy was not only the head of the Anglican Church in India, but also, in a sense, of the missionary work of the Free Churches as well, for the Council deals with the common interests of all the churches, handling such matters as survey, literature, mass movements, Indian church problems, industry and agriculture, public questions, etc. This service is inadequately recognized in the biography, receiving mention only incidentally (pp. 256–7). At a meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India held at Calcutta during the last ten days of 1919, Bishop Foss Westcott, the new Metropolitan, is reported as saying in his address of welcome: 'I stand to-day as a host to welcome you to Calcutta, but, please God, I shall meet you in the one United Church in the days to come.' We are told, also, that as he spoke 'the partition [between the denominations] grew very thin.' All who have been members of the National Missionary Council during the presidency of the late Metropolitan will surely agree that he did his part in preparing for this new attitude of earnest longing for the union of Christian denominations. It was because of his deep spirituality, loyalty to conviction, strength of character, sympathy with all Christians, and courtesy toward all, that Free Churchmen as well as Anglican Churchmen loved him and trusted him and longed for a closer fellowship in the common faith.

H. D. GRISWOLD

NEW YORK

RICHTER'S 'MISSIONSKUNDE'

EVANGELISCHE MISSIONSKUNDE. By D. JULIUS RICHTER, Professor der Missionswissenschaft au der Universität, Berlin. Leipzig: Erlangen. M. 25–geb. M. 30. 1920.

DR RICHTER begins decidedly *ab ovo*. His first chapter, and it is the briefest in the book, discusses the biblical justification for missions (pp. 1–18), much as Dr George Smith does in his *Short History of Christian Missions* (Edinburgh, 1897). The second chapter (pp. 18–86) partly covers the same ground, but embraces the larger idea of 'Missionslehre.' Dr Richter objects to making the Church the central idea of missionary propaganda; 'the biblical central idea of a sound doctrine of missions is discipleship to Jesus.' This is intelligible, in view of the Roman Catholic position, and it certainly safeguards the religious motives of Christian missions, instead of allowing them to be identified or associated with trading, imperial or ecclesiastical interests. But it is a fair question whether it is necessary. The content of 'discipleship' soon had to be reset in the early Church. Do we gain anything by reverting to a primitive expression, instead of conserving what was vital in it? Dr Richter seems to be curiously shy of using the conception of the Church. He prefers to regard the highest missionary idea as St Paul's 'new man,' the creation of a humanity which is above all racial differences. But again this idea lacks the organic, practical cohesion of 'the Church.' The remainder of the chapter is devoted to an extremely comprehensive and sensible survey of the methods and aims of missionary enterprise, in the light of history and experience. There are some particularly wise paragraphs upon the training of missionaries, and on the vexed question of admission to the sacrament. The references to the war are less wise. But it is the kindest thing to pass them over.

The third chapter, on missionary apologetic, begins by referring to the religion of primitive peoples, but passes on to a discussion of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam (pp. 87–194). Here, we must confess, there is little new for the English student, who will gain more from reading Dr E. C. Moore's recent book on *West and East,* or Professor G. F. Moore's volumes on *The History of Religions.*

The fourth chapter is long, as the subject, 'The History of Missions,' would almost necessitate. The general progress since the Reformation is first outlined, after which Dr Richter surveys the special enterprise in Africa, Asia, Australia and America. To review such a record would be impracticable. But one lays down the book, especially after reading the last chapter, with the impression that it is a creditable, well-planned piece of work. The bibliographies are unusually good and not confined to German books. The record is objective and, on the whole, impartial. Now and then the need of compression turns it into a sort of blue-book, which students will consult rather than read consecutively. And this will be facilitated by the excellent index. Dr Richter has been at pains to bring his information up to date. We must say that wherever we have checked his statistics, for example, they have proved to be accurate.

To sum up. This is a conscientious handbook, written by a man who has a sense of responsibility and an eye for the widespread activities of Christianity as a missionary religion. English students will not find perhaps very much in it that will induce them to lay aside the textbooks in their own language. But they will rejoice that German Christians have the claims and problems of the subject put so authoritatively before them. It is a Berlin Baedeker to the mission field. Like most guide-books, it is not strong upon the deeper and historical side of the subject ; but the latter half is laid out with care. Misprints are few. There are no serious omissions, although more attention might have been paid to a movement like that of Babi-Bahaism, and we sadly miss some maps.

James Moffatt

Glasgow

THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF INDIA

An Outline of the Religious Literature of India. By J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. London: Oxford University Press. 18s. 1920.

The latest addition to the series published under the title of ‘ The Religious Quest of India ’ essays the most difficult and important task of surveying as a whole, from the earliest period to the eighteenth century, the religious literature of a land whose people has lavished its intellectual powers on questions of theology and philosophy. The difficulty of the task is obvious, for much of the work of detailed investigation and description of the rich stores of Indian religious literature has not even yet been attempted, and the writer of a work such as this must ever and again investigate for himself, and form his own conclusions on, complex issues whose very existence has hardly been suspected. But, arduous as is the undertaking, its necessity is undeniable, alike for the scholar and the missionary. To have any just understanding of Hinduism at any period of its existence a clear knowledge of the many influences which have gone to make it up is absolutely essential. Only thus is it possible to appreciate the true nature of any branch of Indian faith and to distinguish in it the elements which represent fundamental Indian conceptions from those which the system derives from the genius of an individual. Characteristics of the latter type will be found on closer examination to be few indeed, and if students of Indian politics have laboured, not without a measure of success, to prove the fundamental unity of India, it is yet an easier task to trace amid the apparently endless diversity of Indian views on religion fundamental elements of similarity, which in real importance far outweigh the divergences, however much store may be set on the latter by the devotees. Further, the time has admittedly come when progress in the exploration of the religious literature of India is gravely hampered by the difficulty of ascertaining exactly what work has already been accomplished and what tasks remain to do.

The needs of the time are amply met in Dr Farquhar's work. His competence for the task at which he has so long and lovingly laboured was established by his treatise on *Modern Religious Movements in India,* which essays to do for the nineteenth century the task which his new work accomplishes for the earlier history of the religious literature of India. The present volume exhibits to the full the merits which marked the earlier book ; there is the same wide and accurate knowledge of the literature, not merely of the great movements but also of the minor manifestations of the religious spirit, the same definiteness and precision of statement, and the same justice and candour of exposition. Moreover, the work exhibits in clear relief the advantages derived from the author's long experience of life in India and the definitely religious standpoint from which he envisages his theme. Like its predecessors in the series, Dr Farquhar's volume is a striking proof of the gain to be derived from the exposition of Indian religion by men and women whose own religious faith enables them to attain a sympathetic understanding of doctrines and practices whose inward significance escapes a purely historical or philosophic examination. As a result we have now a work which will be indispensable to students as indicating at once what has been accomplished and what remains to be done in the investigation of Indian religion, and which affords to missionaries and to all those engaged in the administrative work of missions for the first time an effective means of obtaining a comprehensive grasp, which yet omits no vital detail, of the growth and development of religious thought in India.

Technically, indeed, as the author reminds us, the work is not a history of Indian religion but a sketch of the religious literature, yet the wealth of Indian literature is so great that the distinction is of minor importance. In fact the work will pave the way for a far-reaching modification of our conceptions of Indian religious history, above all by virtue of the courage of its author in seeking even in the arrangement of his book to suggest the importance of bearing in mind the interaction of conflicting aspects of belief throughout the whole period of Indian history. To such interaction Indian tradition bears ample and emphatic testimony, but it is only in the last few years that sufficient progress in investigation has been made to allow of any serious effort to treat the subject-matter otherwise than as a series of histories of distinct movements. A pioneer in a synthetic view of the process must run risk of error, but Dr Farquhar has surmounted the obstacles in his path with remarkable skill, and has, for the first time, presented us with the means of realizing the importance of the place in Indian religion of the various developments of Buddhism, of Jainism, of the great sectarian worships and of the Śākta system. It is impossible to understand Indian religion unless the sectarian standpoint and Śākta rites are understood; nothing is more erroneous than to regard them as essentially alien to the Vedic religion; even so hieratic a text as the *Rigveda* reveals a defence of Indra against those who denied his divinity which points unmistakably to sectarian devotion, and the fertility magic of such rites as the Mahāvrata at the winter solstice, of the horse sacrifice and even of the Soma sacrifice, affords precedent for the ceremonies which repel us in the Tantras. Small wonder then if even Buddhism was unable—possibly from a very early period—to resist the irruption into its system of Tantric elements, which in theory should have ill consorted with its tenets.

No more striking proof of the impartiality of the author could be afforded than is given in his treatment of Christian influences on Indian religion. The temptation to ascribe to Christianity a decisive share in the development of the doctrine of Bhakti is extremely strong; it has the support of scholars whom it would be absurd to suspect of theological bias, but Dr Farquhar contents himself with the wiser plan of pronouncing the case not proven.

There is much in the volume that suggests fresh paths of inquiry and research, but it must suffice here to note the suggestion that temple and image worship and the cult of sacred places were derived by the Aryan invaders from the aborigines, a thesis which would serve admirably to account for the low esteem in which temple priests, though Brāhmans or deemed to be such, are regarded throughout the religious literature. There is much that is attractive in this view, though there is of course a hint of fetichism in the *Rigveda*, and in the *Black Yajurveda* we find proof of the growing sanctity of Tīrthas. There is in fact a clear distinction between the sacrificial worship and the temple cult, and it is not in the least improbable that those Brāhmans who adhered to the former and despised as inferiors those of their order, who were driven by poverty or desire of gain to undertake the duties of temple worship, were originally actuated by racial considerations, and that the antagonism persisted long after its primary cause had disappeared.

It remains only to add that the bibliography is compiled with equal care and judgment, and that in technical qualities the work reflects great credit both on the author and on the University Press.

A. Berriedale Keith

Edinburgh

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN CHINA

The Education of Girls in China. By Ida Belle Lewis, Ph.D., New York City. Teachers' College, Columbia University. Cloth, $1.60; paper, $1.20. 1919.

During the past year women students—often mere girls—have taken a prominent part at Shanghai and many other places in the student demonstrations against Japan. They have joined in public processions, addressed public meetings, and in enterprise and endurance have shown themselves of the same mettle as their western sisters. This shows significantly the new position that women are taking; China—the 'sleeping lion'—is waking up, and the Chinese new woman is making her appearance. So far has the movement gone that a few weeks ago a well-informed observer stated that the Chinese might now be considered as definitely in favour of thoroughgoing co-education.

It is easy to misjudge the situation in two directions. On the one hand, some are over sanguine and mistake the early dawn for high noon. Emancipation has come not to the great majority of Chinese women but only to a comparatively small number. Three years ago a small amateur survey was made by some students in a suburb of one of China's great inland provincial capitals, and it was found that less than one-fifth of the girls had natural or unbound feet and far fewer were in school. In the country districts the proportion would be even smaller. It is only among the few—the wealthy or the well-educated, and these mainly in the big centres—that the new woman is found. On the other hand, when this fact is realized it is easy to under-estimate the importance of the feminist movement. Ideas are explosive and new ideas have spread all over China even though actual achievement is small. Your high-school boy can chatter about the equality of the sexes, and some day the result may be seen in his own home. The press discusses women's rights, and the press in China, as in the West, exerts a widespread influence. This, then, is the position—a general ferment of new ideas about the position of women, and these ideas tested and put into practice in selected small areas of the nation's life. How can the Christian Church meet the situation? Miss Lewis's book on the education of girls in China supplies a part of the answer. Her sketch of education in the past and of the present situation is clear and convincing. She has had access to some unusual sources of information and has made good use of her opportunities. The plain facts make a most eloquent appeal; the number of girls in school is only some seven per cent of the number of boy pupils. It is roughly true that of every six schoolgirls one is in Protestant schools, one in Roman Catholic, and four in government or other schools. 'Probably not one out of one hundred girls of school age enters an educational institution, and four-fifths of those who do enter are registered in the first three years of the course. Over twenty-eight million girls of school age do not yet attend school. Education for girls in China has, in reality, barely commenced' (p. 41).

Here is a picture of need from which the Christian Church cannot turn away, and its first response was inevitably to join with any other forces working to meet the unlimited need. But Miss Lewis has done further excellent work in showing something of the peculiar means by which that need should be met. She has built up elaborate statistics from replies to a questionnaire, and while some may feel that some of the figures presented are unnecessary she has certainly succeeded in a number of instances in eliciting vital conclusions from what may seem at first sight mere dead figures. While a number of problems are raised, the most far-reaching one is the relation of the student with her home and the home community. Just because the new ideals are so far in advance of the old home-life the girls lose touch with their own people. Social conventions make boarding schools a necessity for the older girls, and often the difficulties and dangers of travelling keep them at school through the holidays so that they seldom see their parents and home. About two-thirds of the girls desire to study further and prepare as teachers, nurses, etc., and while much idealism and eagerness for service prompts these decisions, it is certain that the longing to escape from the entanglements and difficulties of the old home has some influence.

Miss Lewis concludes with some valuable recommendations.

Her book should do much to help those who are already facing these problems to solve them wisely. This is the second great demand on the Christian forces, not only to do their little in dispelling the vast mass of ignorance, but still more to blaze a trail of inspired education which shall fulfil China's aspirations in Christ.

H. T. Silcock

West China Union University

AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY ON JAPAN

New Life in the Oldest Empire. By Charles F. Sweet. London: S.P.C.K. 6s. net. 1920.

To those who are actually in the swirl of strong currents, knowing personally in what various ways, in spite of how many difficulties, the ' new life ' in Japan is striving to express itself, this quiet sketch of origins—mythology, early missions, first leaders, church constitution and some present problems—may seem somewhat remote in its outlook. But it is full of interest, even though it says little of the great experiences which are shaking and moulding Japan in common with the rest of the world, and does not give as much prominence as we should wish to the influence of Japanese leaders and writers and to the many activities of the Japanese Christians themselves.

The writer's estimate of Japanese women would have been true (though not the whole truth) fifteen or twenty years ago; it is hardly adequate now. The limitations of the ' foreign ' woman missionary, too, as to visiting Japanese homes might discourage some readers. No doubt the remarks refer to the younger workers. One who has experience in the language, customs and morals of the country may find a very large sphere open to her and become extraordinarily intimate with many Japanese families, if only she has the essential spiritual personality.

The book brings together some useful facts in a fresh way, e.g. the organization of the secret communities of Christians, ' the sons of the martyrs ' of the sixteenth century, which survived, with their ' Prayer Leaders ' and ' Baptizers,' down to the reintroduction of Christianity last century. There is an interesting account of that missionary genius, the Russian Archbishop Nicolai, whose personality was so great a power in Japan from 1861 to 1912; the story of his last days is beautifully like that of the venerable Bede.

The author has worked in Tokyo in the American Episcopal Mission, and naturally gives prominence to the history of the Japanese Sei Ko Kwai and to details of its constitution and prayer book, and such questions as the desirable number of bishops (Mr Sweet advocates a great increase). But he also mentions the admirable work of other Christian bodies, and in his last chapter, on reunion, lays stress on that important point, 'mutual respect.'

The sequence of subjects and date is not always easy to follow, especially as there are no chapter headings or index, and we notice a few slips and errors, as when Hiroshima (a military garrison city) is called 'a great naval station.' We feel sure, however, that the book will be useful, and will be appreciated by readers outside the circle of the American Episcopal Church.

AMY C. BOSANQUET

LONDON

FROM THEOSOPHY TO CHRISTIAN FAITH

FROM THEOSOPHY TO CHRISTIAN FAITH. By E. R. MCNEILE. London: Longmans. 4s. 6d. net. 1919.

MISS MCNEILE has one eminent qualification for instituting a comparison between Theosophy and Christianity. She was for a time an earnest Theosophist, almost within the inner circle at its Indian headquarters, and she now is a Christian.

But the reader will look in vain for any traces of an intemperate zeal in the denunciation of an old faith such as sometimes will be found in those who have first embraced and then forsaken a religious belief. Miss McNeile in her rapid survey of the main tenets of Theosophy never departs from the true Christian standard of controversy. She is just, and she does not misrepresent.

At the outset she states what is a difficulty encountered by most people who enter into argument with Theosophists—the difficulty of bringing them to acknowledge that any particular statement or dogma which is liable to be refuted forms a part of essential Theosophy. It has been declared, by formal resolution, that the Theosophical Society is a society without dogmas: and pursuing that line, one would arrive at the conclusion that Theosophy is not a science or body of knowledge at all, but simply a mass of discrepant opinions, held by individuals. There would seem to be no such thing as an orthodox or authoritative Theosophy. For example, even Miss McNeile, who knows the ways of Theosophists, allows herself to say : 'A belief in the Masters is fundamental to Theosophy,' and she has the strongest reasons for so saying; for if the dogma of the existence of the Masters be not a part of the distinctive and essential teaching of Theosophy it is difficult to know what may be put forward as theosophic doctrine. But one cannot forget that in the famous Judge inquiry, when Mrs Besant's colleague in the headship of the Occult Section was accused by the President of the Society of forging a Mahatma's signature and issuing as communications from a Master what were inventions of his own, the verdict of the Theosophic court, under Mrs Besant's inspiration, was that to convict Mr Judge of forgery would be tantamount to a declaration that the Mahatmas existed, and that must not be, because the Society had no dogmas. This well-known incident in the history of the Theosophical Society may serve as an illustration of the difficulties of the writer who sets out to show what Theosophy is. When an affirmation becomes untenable or inconvenient, the Society or the adept will shed it, as the lizard its tail.

But Miss McNeile has not been dismayed by this initial difficulty, and with care and discernment she has selected those tenets which are modern Theosophy, if it be a system at all—its doctrine of God as the unknowable, impersonal supreme ; of man as an emanation from the Divine ; of *Karma* and reincarnation ; of the hierarchy of Logoi, Cosmic and Solar, Manus and Boddhisattwas, the great White Brotherhood of Mahatmas, and the Initiates of various grades ; of the human constitution and the seven planes of existence ; and of the Christ.

If we have any criticism to offer of Miss McNeile's presentation, it is that she is too abstract and general and descends too little into the particular. It is a noble fault ; but the consequence of it is that Theosophy is seen at its best apart from the discreditable events in its history and the baser elements which bulk so large in its literature. Theosophy is in reality a much less rational system than readers of Miss McNeile's book might be led to suppose. It has changed its shape with the personnel of the leadership and the necessity of the hour. For example, while our author outlines briefly the Theosophic doctrine of the Christ, she says almost nothing about its latest and most monstrous development, the Krishnamurti Cult. The 'Order of the Star in the East' still advertises itself in Regent Street; and the characteristic duplicity of theosophical propaganda appears in the shop front. Who looking at the figures of the Christian Madonna and Child would ever suppose that they were used as cover for the revolting superstition initiated by Leadbeater of which Mrs Besant made herself chief patron?

Similarly, while Miss McNeile writes, 'For all practical purposes this [matter of evidence] reduces itself in the Theosophical Society to the *ipse dixit* of a very few persons—Madame Blavatsky and two or three others now living. . . . The disciple makes an absolute surrender of his reasoning faculties,' she does not trace that process by which Mrs Besant gradually acquired all power in the Society, and finally sealed it by the institution of a pledge, requiring of all in the Esoteric Section (and they were the only persons who counted for anything according to her own estimate) implicit obedience to the orders of their Outer Head.

The value of this book lies just in this. It takes what is best in Theosophy, most worthy of consideration, separates doctrines—many of them borrowed—from their sordid history in the Theosophical Society, and examines them upon their own merits.

Miss McNeile has decided views about Reincarnation. She says: 'The Christian does not disbelieve in reincarnation because it is capable of definite disproof, but because it is inconsistent with what he does believe. It is inconsistent with the central truth of the Resurrection and with what has been made known to us of the resurrection life which Christ gives to men.' Probably some of her Christian readers will be content to say to the Theosophist and to the Hindu: 'We do not know: neither do you. This is one of the secret things which belong to the Lord our God and are beyond our human ken.'

In the chapter entitled 'The Holy Catholic Church' Miss McNeile defines her own distinctive Christian position, and says that, for her part, she finds in the Sacraments of the Church that satisfaction which the mysteries of Theosophy only promise, the Presence of a Living Lord. The close of her book brings her back to the conclusion expressed in her preface: 'It is personal contact with Christ that ultimately brings conviction of the fallacy of Theosophy, not any trench warfare of argument, assailing it statement by statement.'

E. W. THOMPSON

LONDON

A STUDY OF THE BANTU

The Bantu, Past and Present: An Ethnographical Study of the Native Races of South Africa. By S. M. Molema. Edinburgh: W. H. Green. 25s. net. 1920.

This is a remarkable book, written by a remarkable man. Many have written of the Bantu from the outside, but in this handsome volume we find the work of one who comes from the heart of the people whom he describes. He is a member of a well-known family of the Barolong, whose headquarters are at Mafeking. Mr Molema has been in Scotland for some years, and a successful course at the Edinburgh School of Medicine has given a first-hand and emphatic endorsement to all that he says about the possibilities that lie before his own people when once suitable opportunities come their way. And yet he wisely takes account of all the facts. He says:

> Sanguine optimism is irrational if untempered by the recognition of the fact that the progress of a people is a slow social progress, and in the case of the Bantu . . . . they must pass through the mill and serve their time as the advanced races have done. To expect that what has been brought about by centuries of steady application in one race—the European—can be effected by a few years' training in another race is, to say the least of it, rash. But a purely sceptical attitude is worse; for, besides its unnerving effects, it is ungenerous and unwarrantable.

Surely such a statement is sanely conceived and excellently expressed. It may fairly stand as a specimen of the style, temper, and ability of the whole book.

We have interesting chapters on the history, the geographical distribution, the ethnographical affinities, the tribal distinctions, the manners and customs, the morals and the language of the great Bantu people. These subjects are treated with a breadth, a balance and a completeness which prove that the bibliography which enriches the volume is not a mere compilation. The authorities have been well chosen and used with suitable acknowledgments. Mr Molema writes with generous appreciation of much that the English have done, but draws a sharp contrast between English and Dutch policy in relation to the Bantu people. He quotes from men whose names will carry weight with those who know. The late W. P. Schreiner was not rabidly pro-English, but from him our author takes the following:

> The Briton believes that the coloured man is a human being, and British law treats him as such. The Boer looks upon him, even if Christianized, civilized and educated, as a mere animal, and acts accordingly, often treating him kindly as one does a domestic animal, but as often treating him brutally without compunction, and ridiculing the very idea of his having a claim to the same civil, legal, political and religious rights as the white man.

Possibly the most recent action of General Smuts would to some extent modify Mr Molema's position.

There is a valuable chapter on missionary matters, and in the Appendix we have a number of useful original documents.

AMOS BURNET

LONDON

PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

THE FUTURE OF THE KANAKA. By EDWARD JACOMB. London: P. S. King & Son 6s. net. 1919.

THIS book is a serious attempt at the solution of problems confronting those responsible for the government of the many island groups of the South Pacific. The use of the word Kanaka in the title of the book is not happy. It is a corrupt term used by white men, and in the eyes of Eastern Polynesians is suggestive of ridicule and contempt. Again, the author, whilst evidently possessing first-hand knowledge of the New Hebrides and the Solomons—the most backward peoples in the Southern Pacific—includes all the other island groups as exhibiting the same conditions, which is very far from being the case. Whilst agreeing entirely with his contention that the solution of Pacific problems demands the energies of the very best men procurable—officials, missionaries and traders—the chapter on Missions, where the author draws comparison between the salaries and intellectual capacity of the Melanesian, Presbyterian and other missionaries, evinces bad taste.

But these are mere excrescences. The real argument of the book, reduced to its lowest terms, amounts to this: Is the native of those tropical islands of the Pacific worth preserving; not as the bison in the national parks of America; nor as a subject for magazine writers or film producers; nor again—which is the most serious side—as a mere chattel to be used to augment dividends of companies whose interest in him begins and ends there; but as a fellow-man, backward it is true, but with latent qualities awaiting to be awakened and trained so that he may take his place side by side with the white man in the world's economy? To this all fair-minded men can give but one answer. Here the author takes his stand, and the book is devoted to the elaboration of means calculated to accomplish this end.

Standing in the forefront of obstacles to be removed is the Condominium, where such a thing exists. Having lived under a three-power Condominium for eleven years (Samoa, 1889–1900), I have no hesitation in stating that as an effective instrument of good government it is a delusion. The chapter on Government is perhaps the best in the book. Mr Jacomb's portrayal of the ideal governor, the very grave responsibilities resting upon all officials where backward races are concerned and the failure often to attract men of an altruistic frame of mind, as well as his remarks upon the meagre emoluments offered to men prepared to live in social exile, are well worthy of attention.

A right emphasis is placed on the need for education. But Mr Jacomb fails to discriminate between the backward New Hebrides and Solomon Islander and the people of the more eastern islands whose educational standard is comparatively high. In the higher schools of the London Missionary Society in Samoa, for instance, such subjects as physiology, physical geography, natural philosophy, tropical agriculture, etc., are taught. The author has, moreover, in his scheme of education overlooked the powerful yet silent educative influence on the minds of the people which emanates from the white Christian family, whether official, missionary or trader. It has had and still has an incalculable elevating influence in every place where it is found. Pidgin English may be very useful as a medium of communication where a babel of dialects exists, but this does not apply to Eastern Polynesia where the language of each group is homogeneous. In the latter, the official and the trader should be encouraged to learn the vernacular as the best means of helpfulness. If the psychology of the native mind should be the first study of any one called to deal sympathetically with him, surely his vehicle of thought is of prime importance in the process.

This book contends that we need the products of these Pacific Islands, that we have to accept the Pacific Islander as a man and a brother, and that every effort should be made to help him to take a respectable place in the great and varied family of peoples of the earth; at the same time it contributes many thought-provoking suggestions which should prove helpful towards this happy consummation.

J. W. Hills

London

INDO-CHINA AND ITS PRIMITIVE PEOPLE

Indo-China and its Primitive People. By Captain Henry Baudesson. Translated by C. Appleby Holt. 48 Illustrations. Hutchinson & Co. 16s. net. 1919.

Captain Baudesson spent many years in Indo-China with a mission sent out to make the geodetical and topographical surveys which preceeded the construction of the Trans-Indo-Chinese railway. He took a high view of the responsibilities belonging to any nation which 'desires worthily to fulfil the *rôle* of protector to the barbarous races on whom it proposes to confer the benefits of civilization,' and held that it could not 'afford to remain ignorant of their ways of life and thought.' He lived amongst the natives on terms of the greatest familiarity, saw them in their homes, watched them at their work and their recreations, and carefully observed and studied their religious beliefs and rites. His book shows him to have been a most careful and sympathetic observer, always anxious to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the people, and gaining his information by kindly interest and friendliness.

The book is concerned for the most part with the half-civilized races living in the mountains and uplands of Indo-China. They are known by many different names, but Captain Baudesson treats of them under what in his mind is the most convenient label as Moï, which can be translated by savage. He tells of their industries, family and social life, of their religious rites, their superstitions, their art and their intellectual life.

It is interesting to learn that this primitive people look upon the military profession with scorn and consider the tiller of the soil as the man of worth. Captain Baudesson believes that every power aiming at colonial expansion must concentrate its efforts on developing commercial relations with the natives, and that trade is the most potent agent of conquest. This leads us to remember that it was from this point of view that Louis xiv and his government supported the French missions to Indo-China which finally led to the

French colonization. Captain Baudesson tells us nothing about the present missionaries and their work; only a couple of casual notices as to their study of native customs shows us that they are at work at all in the colony.

Captain Baudesson has studied his subject in other countries besides Indo-China, and is therefore able to compare what he finds there with customs and rites among other peoples. He is always an interested observer with no thesis to prove and no desire to contradict other students, so that he gives throughout an impression of careful accuracy. For the student of primitive people the book is full of interesting information. The latter part is concerned with a people of more advanced culture than the Moï, the Cham, who live in Cambodia. They are a Mohammedan people, formerly very powerful, but seem now to be fast disappearing. Their life is complicated by most elaborate rules of etiquette, which often added greatly to the difficulties of Captain Baudesson and his party. Both their religious rites and their etiquette have similarities on the one side with Indian and on the other with Chinese customs.

The book is illustrated with many interesting photographs, and is a fine example of what can be done by those who explore a country primarily in the interest of trade to add to scientific knowledge.

LOUISE CREIGHTON

LONDON

STUDIES IN JEWISH NATIONALISM

STUDIES IN JEWISH NATIONALISM. By LEON SIMON. With an Introduction by ALFRED E. ZIMMERN. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 6s. 1920.

To the average Jew, be he orthodox or reformed, his religion is an end in itself. It emanates from God, and every commandment is to him the expression of the divine will which he is bound to obey, even when the immediate purpose is hidden from his eyes. He is sustained by the conviction that it is meant for his good, temporal or eternal, and therefore the fulfilment of the divine behests is independent of the national condition of the people at a given time. True, there are many commandments which can only be fulfilled when the nation is fully restored to Palestine, but the salvation of the individual is not dependent upon them. The pious

Jew may yearn after that blessed time; nevertheless he is fully convinced that his eternal welfare depends exclusively upon the fulfilment of those commandments which have no territorial limits.

Otherwise the Zionists, or at least one section among them which the author of *Studies in Jewish Nationalism* seems to represent. According to their view the Jewish religion is the expression of the Jewish national life in history. Its main source is 'the national instinct of self-preservation,' hence the Jewish religion is not an end in itself but a means to keep the nation alive. It is especially the ceremonial law that acts as a powerful preservative of the Jewish national life, making it possible for the Jews scattered among the nations of the earth to remain a nation separate and distinct from all others, until the time comes when they will be able to establish themselves as a nation in their own land, when the national life may find a new expression in Jewish institutions, culture and form of government. Then perhaps a greater part of the ceremonial law will be discarded as no more required for the self-preservation of the nation.

> 'Judaism,' says our author, 'robbed of its national basis, has no chance of life. Its ceremonial practices become irksome and apparently useless in a form of civilized life with which they have no essential connexion. . . . And as a set of metaphysical dogmas it has little appeal to the modern man. For Judaism has no message of salvation for the individual soul as Christianity has: all its ideas are bound up with the existence of the Jewish nation. Hence those emancipated Jews who are most religiously minded . . . tend to go over to Christianity, or to evolve a form of so-called Judaism which is only a stepping-stone to Christianity; and those who remain more or less true to traditional Judaism are just those whose cravings for individual salvation are least strong' (p. 20).

The nine essays of which the book consists form a good introduction to the aims, aspirations and the problems of modern Zionism. In addition to the first essay entitled 'Religion and Nationality,' from which we have quoted above, we would call the reader's attention to the fifth one entitled 'One of the People,' containing a lucid study of the national ideas of Achad Na-Am, a thinker of some distinction who sprang up from the Jewish Ghetto in Russia.

J. I. LANDSMAN

LONDON

SHORTER NOTICES

The China Mission Year Book, 1919. Edited by C. E. Lobenstine and A. L. Warnshuis (Shanghai: Kwang Hsüeh Publishing House. New York: 25 Madison Avenue. London: L.M.S., 48 Broadway). Year by year attention has been called to this indispensable handbook; it is to be hoped that it is already familiar to most readers of the *Review*. This tenth annual issue follows the general line of the previous volumes. The first six parts contain valuable articles dealing with the general situation in China, the churches and missions, evangelism, general and religious education, medical and philanthropic work and literature. Among the outstanding features may be mentioned a paper on the progress of the general missionary survey in China and an excellent classified bibliography of recent books and articles dealing with China.

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America (New York: 25 Madison Avenue. 75 cents. 1920). The annual reports of this Conference, which is at the centre of the missionary life of North America, are always an interesting index to the matters which have been receiving special attention during the previous year. At the twenty-seventh annual session in January 1920 the main subjects considered were international co-operation in missions and the relation of missions and governments, how to meet the high level of prices which press so heavily on missionaries, the relation between women's boards and general mission boards, problems of reconstruction in the Near East, the interpretation of the Christian message and native leadership in the Church. The report is admirably edited, but its value would be increased if earlier publication were possible.

India in Conflict. By P. N. F. Young and Agnes Ferrers (London: S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net. 1920). This is a book which should be read. It may provoke dissent; it will certainly stimulate thought. The first part, by the Vice-Principal of St Stephen's College, Delhi, records the vigorous and incisive views of a younger missionary who is in sympathy with the aspirations of India; the second part, by 'Agnes Ferrers,' is a suggestive study of the present conditions among Indian women and of the new influences bearing upon Christian women and girls in India, with some comments as to the

English workers needed among them. Those who desire to look freshly at the presentation of Christianity and at the work of missions in the light of the modern situation in India will find themselves indebted to both the authors of this volume.

The History of Samoa. By R. M. Watson (London: Whitcombe & Tombs. 5s. net. 1918). Since R. L. Stevenson wrote of Samoa in his *Footnote to History* little has been done in a collected, readable form to sustain the interest he created. Mr Watson's compact and reliable work gives a good outline of the vicissitudes through which Samoa has passed. Under the Paris Treaty New Zealand has become responsible for the administration of this island group. Mr. Watson recognizes how much the new rulers owe to the first German governor of Samoa, Dr Wilhelm H. Solf —'He found [Samoa] in much dispeace, foreign and native. When he left it nearly eleven years later for well-deserved promotion all sections of the community were in harmony and trade was flourishing.' Mr Watson is quite fair to missions, but by an unfortunate typographical error he states (p. 33), that the College for the Training of Native Pastors was founded by the London Missionary Society at Malua in 1884. The college had then been at work for forty years and had done a good work in developing the character and intelligence of the Samoans.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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FULANI BIN FULANI, long a resident in East Africa, has been a contributor more than once to the pages of the *Review.*

The article on 'The Relation of Church and Mission in India' is an outcome of the work of a small group of men and women who meet to study the larger problems of missions. Experienced missionaries and Indian Christians have collaborated with the Group.

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INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editor has the advantage of the co-operation of Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai), Mr Jakob E. Lundahl (Stockholm), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Missionsinspektor Lic.M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Mr Kenneth Saunders (Rangoon), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (London).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 634.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
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X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

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(*General*)

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Japan

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†A few Suggestions regarding the Nationalization of Missionary Education in India. R. C. Das. *Christian Patriot*, 1920 (Apr. 3), 5; (Apr. 10), 5. *644*.

See also *582*, *586–7* (Modern Situation); *648* (Literature).

Other Fields

See also *626* (American Negro).

General

See also *677* (Attitude of State).

Medical Missions

An Inquiry into the Scientific Efficiency of Mission Hospitals in China. 40 pp. Diagrams. Peking: Medical Missionary Association. *645*.

A careful report presented to the meeting of the China Medical Missionary Association in February 1920, by Dr Harold Balme, Dean of the School of Medicine at the Shantung Christian University, and the Rev. Milton T. Stauffer, Secretary of the Committee on Survey and Occupation of the China Continuation Committee.

†Die Grundlagen der ärztlichen Missionsarbeit. H. Feldmann. *Die ärztliche Mission*, 1919–20, 66–73, 81–96. *646*.

†Die deutsche ärztliche Mission daheim und in Übersee während des Krieges. H. Feldmann. *Die ärztliche Mission*, 1919–20, 3–30, 45–8, 49–66. *647*.

See also *571* (China); *590* (Lepers).

Christian Literature

†Religious, Educational and General Literature required for Village Mass Movement Work. F. M. Perrill. HF, 1920 (Apr.), 134–43. *648*.

General

See also *573* (China).

IX. The Church in the Mission Field

†The Relation of Church and Mission in India. A Group Study. IRM, 1920 (Oct.), 552–69. *649*.

†The Home Rule Movement in Indian Missions. Canon Fisher. EW, 1920 (July), 216–21. *650*.

†A New Angle of Vision. H. A. Popley. HF, 1920 (June), 205–8. *651*.

The Need for Men and how to Meet it. V. Ch. John. *The Gospel Witness*, 1920 (Apr.), 133–41. *652*.

†The Problem of securing College Graduates for the Christian Ministry. T. C. Chao. CR, 1920 (May), 325–30; (June), 377–94. *653*.

See also *574* (Y.M.C.A. China); *588a* (Musical Evangelism); *589* (Church Unity); *619* (Uganda); *625* (Madagascar); *655*, *657–8* (Church Unity).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

†A New Beginning of International Missionary Co-operation. J. H. Oldham. IRM, 1920 (Oct.), 481–94. *654*.

The Great Church Awakes. Ideas and Studies concerning Unity and Religion. Bishop of Bombay. vii+158 pp. London: Longmans. 5s. 1920. *655*.

A striking study, prepared in view of the Lambeth Conference of 1920.

Documents bearing on the Problem of Christian Unity and Fellowship, 1916–1920. 93 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 2s. net. 1920. *656*.

This convenient pamphlet, prepared for the 1920 Lambeth Conference, contains the South India and East Africa proposals already published in this Review in 1920 (Jan.), pp. 137–50, and a number of British and American documents and resolutions representing various points of view.

†Fellowship of the Churches. In the Mission Field. G. T. Manley and C. S. Waller. *The Churchman*, 1920 (July), 387–97. *657*.

†The Anglican Church and Union. Bernard Lucas. HF, 1920 (May), 165–78. *658*.

See also *559* (Korea); *560–1* (China); *599* (Training Colony, Ceylon); *614* (Congo).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

Primitive Society. Robert H. Lowie. viii+463 pp. New York: Boni & Wright. $3 net. 1920. *659*.

A valuable work, by one of the aviators of the American Museum of Natural History, dealing with marriage, polygamy, the family, kinship usages, position of women, property, associations and their underlying theories, rank, government and justice as they prevail among primitive peoples.

†Empah Fa'tan; 'Kloppen van een lijk' op Boeroe. Joh. F. A. Schut. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.* LXXXVI 1 en 2. Blz. 222–34. 1920. *660*.

A magic practice, by which inquiry as to the cause of death is made by tapping on the dead body.

†Measa. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van het dynamisme der Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's en enkele omwonende volken. Dr Alb. C. Kruyt. III. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.* LXXXVI 1 en 2. Blz. 1–116. 1920. *661*.

See also *615* (The Bantu); *671* (Influence on Islam).

Japan

†Christianizing Japanese Customs: Idolatry. W. H. Erskine. JE, 1920 (May), 123–9. *662*.

†Emperor Worship. Raymond M. Weaver. *Asia*, 1920 (June), 472–80. *663*.

Religions of China

See also *561a* (Canonical Writings); *568* (Chinese Novel); *576–7* (Islam).

Religions of India

An Outline of the Religious Literature of India. J. N. Farquhar. xvi+451 pp. London: Oxford University Press. 18s. net. 1920. *664*.

See review, pp. 607–10.

Thirty Minor Upanishads. Translated by K. Narayanasvami Aiyar. viii+280 pp. Madras. Rs. 4. 1914. *665*.

These translations will be very helpful to the student of the later history of Hinduism, provided he recognizes that they are late tracts, written in the interests of individual sects and of Śaṅkara's Vedānta, and that they stand in no real relation to the Vedas with which in this volume they are connected.

Shivaji and his Times. Jadunath Sarkar. 508 pp. Calcutta: M. C. Sarker. 7s. net. 1920. *666*.

A very serious attempt is made in this volume to reach solid historic facts with regard to the life of the Great Marāthā leader.

Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri. x+146 pp. Calcutta: University Press. Rs. 2. 1920. *667*.

These chapters by one of the youngest Calcutta lecturers show a fine historical spirit, but the theories suggested would be seriously endangered if all the relative texts and facts were brought to bear on the problems involved.

SAKUNTALA. By Kalidasa. Laurence Binyon. xxix + 199 pp. London: Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net. 1920. *668.*

A shortened translation of the most famous of Indian dramas, in blank verse, prepared with a view to the production of the play in England.

A CATECHISM OF HINDU DHARMA. Srisa Chandra Vidyārnava. Text and Translation. 2nd edition. 79 pp. Allahabad: Panini Office. Rs. 2. 1919. *669.*

This is an anti-Christian work, written to make people believe that Hinduism is opposed to caste and idolatry. The Hindu *dharma*, or law of conduct, is expressed in the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, and the orthodox Hindu obeys these ancient standards. This book quotes a few passages from early works; but the bulk of it consists of quotations from the *Mahanirvāna Tantra*, a book written at the end of the eighteenth century, and never used as a rule of conduct even by the 'Sākta community from which it sprang. The teaching of the catechism is thus a snare and a delusion; yet it is worth study.

TEOSOFIEN, DENS HISTORIE OG DENS LAERE, af. J. N. Farquhar, Autoriseret Oversaettelse ved M. Wolff og Chr. Schlesch. 100 pp. Kobenhavn: O. Lohse. 1919. *670.*

A Danish translation of the section on Theosophy in Dr Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India.*

See also *580* (Tod's Rajasthan); *582* (Conflict); *593* (Folk-Literature, Bengal); *636* (Hinduism).

Islam

THE INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM ON ISLAM: AN ACCOUNT OF POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS. Samuel M. Zwemer. 246 pp. London and New York: Macmillan. $2. 1920. *671.*

A review is in preparation.

THE REBUKE OF ISLAM. W. H. T. Gairdner. vii + 248 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 3s. net. 1920. *671a.*

The fifth edition of a widely known textbook, *The Reproach of Islam*, rewritten and revised by the author.

†ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE SUDAN. Roland Allen. IRM, 1920 (Oct.), 531–43. *672.*

ALLAH AKBAR. M. Lindenborn. 26 blz. f 0.30. Rotterdam: J. M. Bredée. 1920. *673.*

See also *576–7* (China); *611–3* (Guinea and Nigeria); *686* (Young People).

General

TUTORS UNTO CHRIST: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS. Alfred E. Garvie. 250 pp. London: Milford. 4s. 6d. net. 1920. *674.*

A review is in preparation.

†DAS BETEN DER VÖLKER. Gerhard Heinzelmann. EMM, 1920 (Juni), 153–64; (Juli), 190–8. *675.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

†ACTS AND DOCUMENTS BEARING ON THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. IRM, 1920 (Oct.), 592–7. *676.*

THE MISSIONARY SITUATION AFTER THE WAR. J. H. Oldham. 62 pp. London: Edinburgh House, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square. New York: 25 Madison Avenue. 1s. 1d. post free. 30 cents. 1920. *677.*

Notes prepared for the International Missionary Meeting at Crans, near Geneva, June 22–28, 1920, dealing with the educational problem, the claim for missionary freedom, the obligations of missions to governments and the attitude of missionaries to political questions.

†MISSIONARIES AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS. Galen M. Fisher. IRM, 1920 (Oct.), 517–30. *678.*

†CHRISTIANITY AND LABOUR CONDITIONS IN AFRICA. Fulani bin Fulani. IRM, 1920 (Oct.), 544–51. *679.*

†NATIVE LABOUR IN EAST AFRICA. CMR, 1920 June), 142–7. *680.*

APPEL AUX CATHOLIQUES DE L'UNIVERS POUR SAUVER LES MISSIONS ALLEMANDES. J. Neuhausler. 30 pp. Münster en Westphalie: Imprimerie Aschendorff. 1920. *681.*

†L'EUROPE ET LES RACES INFÉRIEURES. René Claparède. *Revue Politique Internationale*, 1918 (Mars–Avril), 211–25. *682.*

See also *552* (World-Brotherhood); *557* (Japan); *558* (Korea); *582* (India); *590* (Lepers, India); *600* (Moslem Lands); *607–8* (Africa); *623* (Rhodesia); *629a* (Women Workers in Orient); *644* (Indian Education).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

†WIE KÖNNEN WIR JETZT NOCH MISSION TREIBEN? F. Würz. EMM, 1920 (Juli), 185–90. *683.*

†HAT DIE DEUTSCH-EVANGELISCHE CHRISTENHEIT NOCH EINE MISSIONSAUFGABE AN DER HEIDENCHRISTLICHEN WELT? K. Axenfeld. AMZ, 1920 (Juni), 148–60. *684.*

XIV. New Missionary Magazines

OUTWARD BOUND. Edited by Basil Mathews. No. 1. Oct. 1920. Illus. Monthly. London: Oxford University Press. Annual subscription 12s. Single copy 1s. *685.*

See notice in advertisement, page 3 of Cover.

XV. Missionary Education Publications

YARNS OF THE NEAR EAST. Basil Mathews. 80 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1s. net. 1920. *686.*

Biographical yarns for boys illustrating the conflict between Christianity and Islam in the Near East.

See also *600* (Near East); *629a* (Women Workers in Orient); *671a* (Islam).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JRD = *Journal of Race Development*
MNZG = *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

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